

LOADED WORDS, LOADED TOPICS, AND DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGE
IN POLICE REPORTS OF RAPE

By

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Victims of rape not only experience the trauma of being physically violated, but may be placed in a situation of retelling details of the rape after it has occurred. Rape victims relive their violent experience when they report the incident to the police. Police officers question the victim regarding the incident to gather information and evidence which are recorded in their police reports. The majority of criminology and victimology literature concerning the treatment of rape victims by police has presented police officers as detached, non-empathic individuals. Some studies have gone as far as to depict police officers as disbelieving victims or questioning rape victims in a sexually perverted manner.

This study has explored the treatment of rape victims from the police perspective by analyzing the language they

chose to use when writing police of rape. Sixty rape reports from the Gainesville Police Department were chosen as the sample. The narrative section of the police reports were analyzed using methods of content analysis. This study investigated the use of loaded words, diverse words, and loaded topics contained in the reports regarding the type of rape reported (stranger versus acquaintance), the race of the victim (Black versus White), the experience level of the officer (experienced versus inexperienced), the gender of the officer, the type of report (initial versus supplement), and the occupation of the victim (student, prostitute, other).

Results were obtained using Mann-Whitney U tests, Kruskal-Wallis Tests, and Freidman tests. Results of the content analyses revealed that experienced officers employ more total loaded words, negative loaded words, and total loaded topics than inexperienced officers in police reports of rape.

Results indicated that initial reports written by patrol officers contained more total loaded words, positive loaded words, loaded topics, and positive loaded topics than supplement reports written by detectives. Supplement reports contained more negative loaded topics than initial reports.

Results indicated that more diverse language was used in "student" victim reports and "other" victim reports than in "prostitute" victim reports.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

RAPE; the word itself, instigates images and connotations of a traumatic, violent incident (Foa, Feske, Murdock, Kozak, & McCarthy, 1991). RAPE; the crime, is depicted as sexual assault or intercourse through the use of force or threats (Karmen, 1990). RAPE; the law, is defined as sexual battery in Florida:

the means of oral anal, oral vaginal penetration by, or union with, the sexual organ of another or the anal vaginal penetration of another by any other objects without consent. However sexual battery does not include an act done for a bonafide medical purpose...Consent is defined as intelligent, knowing, voluntary consent and shall not be construed to include coerced submission. (Florida Statutes, [Chapter 794.011 (1)(H) (1991)]).

RAPE; the investigation, involves interactions between the reporting victim, police, medical personnel, suspect(s), attorneys, and witnesses. In fact, the rape victim must interact with "so many people...that it becomes almost like a party" (Albi, 1977, p. 129). But it is no party because RAPE; the aftermath, leaves devastating emotional and physical scars on its victims (Mills, 1989).

Rape: A Social Problem

Reported cases of rape have been systematically increasing in the United States. Statistics indicate that

one out of every four women in this country will be raped sometime in her life (Blackman, 1989). In 1989, there were 92,490 cases of forcible rape reported. These cases do not include the 17,049 reports of attempted rape, nor the thousands of cases that frequently were unreported (Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1990). For the same year The United States Department of Justice indicated that there were 119,780 female rape victimizations and 127,370 rape victimizations in the United States (National Crime Survey Report, 1991, July).

Although these statistics may be alarming, they are also problematic. Many crime statistics fail to distinguish the geographic areas that crimes occur as well as define the demographics of the crime victims. Thus, incidents of rape may be more or less likely to occur in certain parts of the country (states, cities, urban versus rural areas) and to certain individuals dependent on age, race, and socio-economic background.

The National Crime Survey obtains its statistical data from a door-to-door survey. When a representative sample of households are used to base victimization data, "[they] are subject to a sampling error because they are not based on a complete census" (National Crime Survey Report, 1991, July, p. iii). Other sampling errors may result from the samples' interpretation of what constitutes victimization, the memory

of the individuals interviewed, and their willingness to disclose information of a personal nature.

Social Stigma

Another problem with rape and the victims of rape is the social stigma that it carries (Stanko, 1985; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Roberts, 1990). Victims of rape feel as though society and the criminal justice system re-victimizes them and in some cases places the blame and responsibility of the rape on the rape victim (Estrich, 1987; Goolkasian, 1986; Mills, 1989).

Many traditional assumptions about women and men's sexuality continue to have a powerful grip on the understanding and definitions of rape. There is less of a chance to understand the fear, intimidation, humiliation, and physical pain involved in rape because in many instances it is tied to what is assumed to be a pleasurable or consenting activity (Estrich, 1987). At the same time men are assumed to be more sexually assertive and easily persuaded by their natural biological urges, thus sometimes condoning date, acquaintance, gang, and domestic rape (Bumiller, 1990). Yet the stereotype of the classic or blitz rapist, "the true rapist" is denounced by society for his aberrant sexual urges and for stalking his prey behind bushes or breaking into their homes (Williams, 1981; LeBeau, 1987). This confusion between sex and rape affects the way an incidence of rape is established (Albi, 1977). The police establish a case of

rape by the variety of situations which can be legally defined as rape and evaluating "the diversity of the individuals who report being the victims of this crime" (Albi, 1977, p. 130). There are "large gaps between the counting of rape as a criminal offense by police" (Estrich, 1987, p. 120). A majority of the re-victimization blame is placed on police officers, who usually have initial interaction with a rape victim during an interview (Sherman, 1986; Hanmer, 1989; Roberts, 1990; Wirtz & Harrell, 1987).

Lack of Police Research

Societal attitudes contribute to the perpetuation of present police officers' treatment of rape victims (Hanmer, Radford, & Stanko, 1989). Treatment of rape victims by police are frequently considered "inadequate and not uncommonly abusive" (Hanmer, 1989). "While police admit that rape, as a criminal offense is a grievous crime, they treat it as a narrow, legally defined experience" (Estrich, 1987, p. 37). This does not necessarily suggest a war on women by the police. The problem or inadequacies are systematic; both the victims and the police officers have concerns and needs, many of which are mutually exclusive of each other.

A multitude of researchers and their investigative studies incorporate and understand the needs, wants, and concerns from the victims' perspective. However, this is not reciprocated regarding research and the proscription of police officers. "Visible behavior of police toward the

public and the public toward the police is addressed by quantitative methods, but that is only a small portion of police work-the 'bottom line,' perhaps, but inadequate, is to explain why police do what they do" (Mastrofski & Parks, 1990, p.477). Much of what police do, how they do it, and more importantly why they do it remains unexplored (Mastrofski & Parks, 1990).

Despite advances in quantitative studies of police behavior, research remains restricted (Muir, 1977; Sykes & Brent, 1983, Mastrofski & Parks, 1990; Gilsinan, 1989). "If, as many suggest, police work is mostly talking" (Muir, 1977, p.259; Sykes & Brent, 1983), then the quantitative behavioral and communication literature "reveals only a small portion of what police say and how and why they say it" (Mastrofski & Parks, 1990, 476). "There is literature that has suggested the importance of police attitudes in influencing the invocation of the criminal process" (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990, p. 269; Goldstein, 1960; Davis, 1975) of which rape victims become incorporated.

One reflection of police attitudes may be apparent in the reports they write about incidents of crime, including rape. Thus, an investigation and analysis of police reports begins to satisfy the need to reveal what police say and how they say it. Police reports of rape also provide the original text, as an officer or detective reported and

chronicled the alleged crime from interviews and testimony by victims, medical personnel, offenders, and witnesses.

Kerstetter and Van Winkle (1990) conducted interviews with both rape victims and detectives. Results of their study indicated that, "the detective interviews suggest that at times their moral judgments regarding the incident and the interests of the victim influence the victim. These moral judgments take cognizance of the behavior of both parties" (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990, p. 280). However, the thrust of their research study revolved around the administrative attitudes and influences of the police department rather than their personal attitudes.

Little research has focused on the role of police officers, in terms of their individual perspectives, attitudes, and beliefs regarding rape and rape victims. No research has been focused on the analyses of police reports as a result of police officers' listening and reporting during their interviews with alleged rape victims. Thus, an analysis of police reports as they record and report incidences of rape needs to be conducted.

Use of Police Reports

Police officers as well as the reports they write contribute significantly to the process and/or outcome of a particular criminal case. In the case of rape a police officer is an influential participant in the criminal justice system (Thomas & Hepburn, 1983; Gainesville Police Officer

"P", Personal Communication, November, 1991). A police officer, through interviewing and writing a report about an incident of rape, initiates a decision of whether or not to recommend the case be sent to the State Attorney's Office for possible prosecution (Thomas & Hepburn; Gainesville Police Officer "P", Personal Communication, November, 1991). The reporting officer's opinion of the particular case, in addition to the report he/she has written, is often requested by the State Attorney before a grand jury hearing or trial decision is made. Thus, both the police officers and the reports they write influence a rape case before it possibly reaches a courtroom.

Police officers and the reports they write also have influence if a rape case proceeds to trial. Police officers are called to present verbal testimony during both grand jury hearings and trials. The reporting officers may be asked to place the police reports into evidence (Klotter & Meier, 1976) along with any physical evidence (Grispano, 1990). Police reports entered into evidence are called "documentary evidence." This type of evidence includes any official records or public documents which contribute to the case and were not deemed exclusionary (Klotter & Meier, 1976).

Sections of the police reports may, however, be considered exclusionary. Florida Statutes (1991) indicate that any speculation made on the part of the reporting officer as to his/her judgment of the victim written in the

police report may not be revealed as documentary evidence. The information relating to the incident of rape derived from victim, the offender/suspect, medical personnel, and/or any witnesses during the police interview and any dialogue between the officer and victim written in the reports may be entered as evidence.

Thus, the interaction between a police officer and a rape victim, and the report written about a rape victim have serious future implications in the criminal justice system. The language used by the police officer in his/her rape report then communicate the incident of rape to attorneys, jurors, and a judge, who ultimately make a judgment about the fate of the offender as well as the victim.

Police interviews of victims and their corresponding reports have contributed to the 19,685 convictions of rape in the United States in 1988 (National Crime Survey Report, 1989). Although it would be facilitating to examine police reports written by departments throughout the United States, there is no foundation of research from which to base the investigation of police reports across jurisdictions. Therefore, in order to examine the contents and language of rape reports written by police officers, one police department from Gainesville, Florida, the Gainesville Police Department, was selected for this exploratory research study.

Rape and Crime in Gainesville, Florida

Gainesville, Florida, is a city in the area of north-central Florida in Alachua County. Gainesville has a population of 84,770 residents (Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce, 1991). Gainesville Police Department is responsible for patrolling the 32 square miles that encompasses the city limits of Gainesville. Within the city limits of Gainesville is the University of Florida that serves approximately 35,500 students and faculty (Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce, 1991). Santa Fe Community College which serves approximately 15,090 students and faculty has recently expanded to include a downtown center within the city limits of Gainesville (Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce, 1991). Businesses such as Shands Hospital, Nationwide Insurance, Southwest Bank, and Southern Bell also employ hundreds of Gainesville residents (Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce, 1991).

The University, the Community College, and the businesses have made the small Florida city a thriving college town with both professional and academic offerings. However, within the last three years, 1989-1992, Gainesville has received national media attention due to a series of tragic and serial crimes. "There is no doubt that Gainesville has become well-known for all the wrong reasons in the past three years" (Dewey, The Gainesville Sun, 1992, March 28). Since 1989 a female student of the University of

Florida has been missing; in August of 1990 four University Florida students and one Santa Fe Community College student were the victims of a spree killing; in May of 1991 two University of Florida students were strangled to death in their off-campus apartment by a local carpet cleaning employee; in 1991 a series of fires or serial arsons burned five Gainesville churches; in January of 1992 a young mother disappeared from her Gainesville home; in March of 1992 there was a brutal sexual assault of a female employee at a local coffee shop; and most recently in March of 1992 a Santa Fe Community College student was reported missing and then found dead eleven days later in a shallow grave in southwest Gainesville (Dewey, The Gainesville Sun, 1992, March 28).

Hollinger (1992), a University of Florida sociologist, stated several reasons for why these types of crimes have occurred in Gainesville: 1) Florida is a magnet state for transients, that "people from all over gravitate to our state and not all of them are desirable visitors" (p. 10A), 2) Interstate 75 provides easy access to the city, and 3) Young people and college students "are seen as easy victims not prone to being security conscious" (The Gainesville Sun, 1992, March 28, p. 10A).

Besides these highly publicized crimes of murder and missing persons, Gainesville Police Department recorded 84 cases of rape from January 1990-December 1991 (Gainesville Police Department, Records Division, 1992). The rape victims

in Gainesville were of a variety of racial and socio-economic backgrounds.

Each time a call of rape is received by the Gainesville Police Department's Communications Division, the protocol is to send a patrol unit to assist and interview the victim, as well as write a police report about the incident (Gainesville Police Officer "B", Personal Communication, 1992, January). Once an officer has responded to the rape call, he/she calls dispatch for a detective to do a follow-up interview and a secondary report (Gainesville Police Detective "E," Personal Communication, January, 1992).

Officers of the Gainesville Police Department state that although they may receive some instruction and training regarding how to respond to a rape call and/or how to conduct a rape victim interview, they have received no training regarding the writing of the police report (Gainesville Police Officers "A," "B," "C," "D," & "G," Personal Communication, 1991, November). They are provided no instruction as to the grammar, vocabulary, writing style, or content which should be incorporated into a report. Thus, the recording officer individually decides the information which should be included in the written police report, and as described earlier, the officer has a great deal of influence regarding the future of a particular rape case.

The Use of Reports to Explore the Police Perspective

The method in which police officers acknowledge and deal with a rape victim remains mostly described from the perspective of the rape victim. A problem arises due to the fact that a rationale and explanation of police behavioral responses to rape victims has not been assessed from the police perspective. The police officers' attitudes, beliefs, gender, and experiences regarding rape and rape victims warrants investigation and exploration. In particular police reports may be used as a record of the actual words and language used to record the testimony of alleged rape victims as interpreted by the police officers. This study has utilized a random sample of rape reports from the Gainesville Police Department, from January 1990 through July 1991, to explore the police perspective by analyzing the language officers chose when writing rape reports.

The following chapters include the importance of language use and communication during the process of interviewing and writing a police report, the victims' perspective of the interview process, and the police perspective of the interview process.

CHAPTER 2 COMMUNICATION AND THE USE OF LANGUAGE

Effective communication between a police officer and a victim of rape is essential (Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Bennett and Hess, 1990). "Communication, properly employed, can produce real blessings, while wrongly employed, it can produce real harm...and this is especially true of the role of communication in law enforcement" (Hicks, Leonard, Gruetzmacher, & Pierce, 1985, p. 513).

An individual's perception and interpretation of people and of the environment depend on communication. "It follows, therefore, that anyone who is able to withhold, alter, or selectively disseminate information is in a position to exercise power over others" (King, 1976, p.6). Police officers are in a position of control over rape victims. "That control, in turn, is obtained not through the use of force, but, through communication" (Hicks, et. al., 1985, p. 514). Officers selectively interpret and write the police reports that reflect the experience of the victim and other participants related to the criminal incident.

Because rape is an emotionally charged crime both the police officer and the victim may be experiencing feelings and emotions that they may not be comfortable confronting (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989; Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990;

Albi, 1977). "Emotions are raised, but there is rarely an inkling about what to do with them" (Boer & McIver, 1973). Police education and training classes which instruct officers how to interview and deal with traumatized rape victims have attempted to raise the consciousness of officers regarding the victims feelings and their own emotions (Ryals, 1991; Bennett & Hess, 1991; Mills, 1989), but these classes have not solved the problem.

Boer and McIver (1973) state that such training courses may increase the officers anxieties about responding to a call of rape, create over-sensitized officers who "walk on egg-shells" (p. 164) while interviewing a victim, or produce officers who channel their emotions into other areas rather than having a solid technique or plan with which to effectively deal with strong emotions. The emotions of police officers surfacing during interviews with rape victims may include other aspects other than dealing with a traumatized person. Attitudes and biases about the reporting victim add to and alter the emotional experience of the officer (Bumiller, 1990; Kleinig, 1990). Attitudes of the officer may be influenced by the race, socio-economic class and/or the occupation of the rape victim, as well as the relation between the victim and the assailant (Albi, 1977; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Hicks et. al., 1985).

Judd and Kulik (1980) state that attitudes affect the way a person communicates. Attitudes have an important

role in listening perception, comprehension, recall (Wolvin & Coakley, 1988), and how police officers interact with victims of rape (Hicks et. al., 1985). Cockrell (1976) stated that interpersonal communication in police work is vital because the officers' time is mostly devoted to listening and reporting. Thus, writing police reports and the words selected to be used in the reports may be influenced by the attitudes and emotions of the recording officer. "Words like grammar are the productions of necessity, invented and sustained by virtue of their correspondence to mental structures, mental functions" (Allport & Odbert, 1936, p. 5) and emotions (Hicks et.al., 1985).

Watson (1990) also suggests that the psychological predisposition to a person, object, or subject may influence an individual's abilities to be an effective listener. Parker, Meier, and Monahan (1989) state that "there are certain internal conditions or states that drive and direct specific overt actions or behaviors" (p. 27). Internal states include the individual's values, attitudes, and emotions (Parker et. al., 1989).

This dissertation explored police officers' attitudes and emotions as they were expressed through written reports of rape. The language the officers used in their police reports contained communicative and emotive dimensions with which they visually created a story about the incident of rape. Three aspects of language and communication were

focused on: loaded language, the diversity of language, and loaded topics in language.

Loaded Language: Affective, Emotive, and Loaded Words

"Emotions are the key to vital communication" and understanding the attitude of an individual (Bolton, 1979, p.93). Emotions and attitudes are revealed through the use of language (Richards & Schmidt, 1983). "Above all, language is just not a matter of communication. It is a way of expressing one's fastidiousness, elegance, and imaginativeness; it is also a way of displaying one's control over a medium" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 3).

The study of emotive communication includes the evaluation of loaded language; the use of affective, emotive, and loaded words. Affective words or the affective lexicon refers to any words which connote affective conditions and can be given a positive or negative evaluation (Clore, Ortony, & Foss, 1987). Emotive words or the emotive lexicon are those words which express a person's feelings (Walpole, 1941; Fiske, 1982). Emotive words, like affective words are given a positive or negative valence depending on whether the word evokes a positive or negative emotion (Foa, Feske, Murdock, Kozak, & McCarthy, 1991; Markel, 1989).

Loaded words are defined as words that contain affective or emotional connotative meanings (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Bolinger, 1989; Markel, 1992). An emotive connotation may evoke a positive meaning or a negative meaning (Bolinger,

1989; Markel, 1992). "Every word or phrase contains meanings that are not present in the words: anger, affection, inquiry, displeasure...moods and emotions which have to be signaled" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 11). Mathews (1947) refers to loaded language as the words which indicate affect, emotions, feelings, or tones. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the term loaded language or loaded words was selected to encompass emotive/affective words which contain either a negative/unpleasant or positive/pleasant connotation or meaning.

Previous Research on Loaded Language

Sociolinguists, psycholinguists, and communication researchers have studied and categorized various types of loaded language. Historically, Jeremy Bentham is accredited with investigating the process of naming "entities" by the use of words in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Ogden, 1932). Bentham stated that words were "the springs of human action" because they are censorial rather than neutral (Ogden, 1932, p.150). Galton's (1884) commentary regarding the number of expressive words in Roget's Thesaurus rekindled the research associated with emotive words and traits (Allport & Odbert, 1936). Partridge (1910) then compiled a listing of approximately 750 adjectives which were associated with mental and emotional traits. Another list of mental traits and inner states associated with particular words was compiled based upon the 400,000 words in Webster's

New International Dictionary (Perkins, 1926). Gesell (1926) classified adjectives which indicated the mood and emotional control exhibited by pre-school children.

Thurstone's (1934) study classified trait words into categories which separated positive trait words from negative trait words. Exemplars of positive trait words included; patient, calm, and faithful, and negative trait words included; anxious, dishonest, and greedy (Thurstone, 1934). His research also qualified the categorization of the positive and negative trait words by stating, "these categories should be regarded as temporary...and are subject to redefinition" in other contexts (Thurstone, 1934, p. 31).

Allport and Odbert (1936) expanded Thurstone's notion of trait words and created an emotive lexicon of trait-names. The trait-names were divided into words that were considered to be evaluative, emotionally active, or emotionally neutral (Allport & Odbert, 1936). Thus, adding the dimension of neutral language to show the distinction between emotive and non-emotive words. The non-emotive or empty words "behave as empty words normally do; they are de-accented, to attract as little attention as possible" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 95).

Matthew's (1947) study regarding the effect of loaded language on public speeches evaluated the speaker's attitude toward the subject matter presented in his/her speech. The loaded language was classified according to one of the four provided valence categories: very favorable, slightly

favorable, slightly unfavorable, or very unfavorable (Matthews, 1947). Speeches delivered in a more "provocative manner" or using greater amounts of loaded language were found to be superior to those speeches which contained non-loaded language (Matthews, 1947, p. 177).

The semantic differential scale was created as an instrument that could measure the positive or negative dimensions of a particular sample of speech or text (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). The scale was comprised of bi-polar terms, one representing a positive emotive trait or state and the other representing a negative emotive trait or state. Word pairs such as good-bad, happy-sad, and kind-cruel were used to identify the attitudes and feelings of the individual asked to scale certain subjects or situations (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957).

Likewise and more recently, Dahl and Stengl (1978) created three bi-polar categories for loaded words. The categories included; subject-object, extensor-contractor, or attraction-repulsion (Dahl & Stengl, 1978). DeRivera's (1978) research expanded Dahl and Stengl's three bi-polar categories and added three more; involved-detached, expressive-inhibiting, and presence-likeness-meaning. DeRivera's (1978) study, which was based on his decision theory of emotions, stated that when an individual is presented with an object or a person, the individual must decide how to react toward that object or person. The

reactions or actions are typically represented by an expressed or repressed emotion (DeRivera, 1978).

Another scale with which to evaluate the emotive nature of communication was developed by Gottchalk, Winget, and Gleser (1969) and is called the Hostility Scale. They categorized words according to different affective states (Markel, 1992). The original scale was the Gottschalk-Gleser Content Analysis Scale which was created to measure a range of negative emotional states or traits (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1964). Since 1964 and 1969, several studies have used these measurement scales. For example, Uliana (1979) measured the emotive states of black children in society, Lebovits and Holland (1986) measured the language used in mentally ill patients' speech, and Viney, Westbrook, and Preston (1986) measured the amount of alienation in persons addicted to drugs.

Watson (1988) conducted a semantic analysis of affect terms. The affective words were categorized according to feelings and moods of pleasantness-unpleasantness as well as arousal (Watson, 1988; Russell, 1983). Pleasantness-unpleasantness represents the valence of the particular word depending on the positive or negative emotions expressed. For example, positive moods include; "happy, pleased, and contented," and negative moods include "sad, lonely, and grouchy" (Watson, 1988, p. 128). Arousal is defined as the degree of the positive or negative mood or feeling state

(Watson, 1988). Results of this research indicated that mood and emotional state are characterized by two dominant dimensions, pleasantness or unpleasantness. The arousal dimension or intensity of affect revealed that strong positive arousal did not correlate to strong negative arousal. Thus, the study demonstrated that "not one or three" (p. 139) dimensions of language are needed to evaluate mood and attitude; the positive and negative dimensions are mutually exclusive of one another (Watson, 1988).

Kish (1992) explored the use of emotive language in intercollegiate debate. Kish (1992) used the narrative transcripts of rebuttal debates from the last twenty years as his sample. He evaluated the use of positive and negative emotive language as to how it reflected the win or loss status of the particular debate. Although his study did not indicate a difference regarding the emotive language used by a debater and whether the individual won or lost the round, his study revealed an increase in the amount of loaded language contained in college debates over a period of eight years (Kish, 1992).

These previous studies involving the use of loaded words has only recently expanded to the context of communication and law enforcement and rape victims.

Loaded Language in Police Reports

Bolinger (1989) stated that loaded words can influence an individual's perception and memory because "language is

not a neutral instrument. It is a thousand ways biased"
(Bolinger, 1989, p. 68).

No language is able to express all aspects of the truth-
yet all language carries the force and power of the
word-and these words that may be employed to condone
violence against women carry the force of the law
(Bumiller, 1990, p. 131).

The previous quote from Bumiller (1990) refers to the
loaded language used by one rape victim during her trial
testimony as compared to the language used in the police
reports which originally recorded the incident. The victim's
account of the rape as recorded in the police reports dif-
fered significantly from the verbal testimony she presented
in court (Bumiller, 1990). The differences revolved around
the use of loaded language.

The police reports presented in court were said to con-
tain exaggerated language which contradicted her verbal
testimony. For example, during the trial the victim stated
that there were fifteen attackers who had sexual intercourse
with her. The police report only indicated that she had
"lost count" (Bumiller, 1990, p. 133). Another example of
text from the police report read, "the men had knives." Her
account during the trial was, "one man held a knife in front
of my face" (Bulmiller, 1990, p. 133). The end result was
that the police reports did not accurately depict the
emotional trauma of the attack. The victim indicated that
"the events are clearer now than then...I don't remember
anything I said [during the police interview]" (Bumiller,
1990, p. 133).

Foa, Feske, Murdock, Kozak, and McCarthy's (1991) study involved rape victims and threat-related loaded words. Ten threat-related loaded words, general negative loaded words and neutral words were written on different colored cards. The threat-related loaded words included; "rape, assault, stalker, scream, struggle, trapped, VD, penetrate, nightmare, and attack" (Foa, et. al., 1991, p. 157). General negative loaded words included; "anxiety, death, cancer, tumor, stress, funeral, panic, coffin, guilt, and nervous" (Foa, et. al., 1991, p. 157). Neutral words consisted of fruits; banana, cherry, grape, raisin, apple, prune, peach, strawberry, melon, and pear" (p. 157). The study tested the time latency that the victim could name the color of the card in which one of these words appeared. Fifteen rape victims with post-traumatic stress disorder, fourteen rape victims without post-traumatic stress disorder, and sixteen non-victimized women were tested for their reactions to loaded words. Results indicated that the women with post-traumatic stress disorder showed a greater time latency in naming the colors of the cards which contained the threat-related loaded words (Foa, et.al., 1991). Therefore, it was demonstrated that threat-related loaded words influence the behavior and perhaps the attitude of an individual with post-traumatic stress disorder.

In addition to the use of loaded words as a function of communication, the analysis of unique words or the diversity

of language may be used to evaluate written text as well as spoken narratives.

Diversity of Language

The diversity of language, a psycholinguistic based study, assumes that individuals use vocabularies that are not only distinct from one another, but that reflect their word knowledge and personality traits (Vernon, 1936; Balken & Masserman, 1940; Carroll, 1938). The diversity of language includes the analysis of repeated words, unique words, and the number of total words to determine the conciseness of text or the variety of discourse.

Repetitive words are defined to be those words in a narrative or transcription that are used more than once or repetitively throughout the document (Carroll, 1938; Ryder & Slater, 1988). Ryder and Slater (1988) examined the relationship between word frequency and word knowledge. Results of their study revealed that the repetitive use of a word is based on how many morphemic forms of the word an individual can identify. A similar study indicated an association between word frequency and the relative importance and relevance of the word as it is used contextually in a narrative (Guilford & Zimmerman, 1948; Peacock, 1980). Peacock (1980) stated that the more important a word is to an associated concept the more it will be used in speech.

Diverse words are defined to be those words in a narrative or transcription that are used "uniquely" or once in a passage (Johnson, 1941). An index of verbal diversification was used by Johnson (1941) to indicate the number of unique words used in newspaper writing. The index that was used was the type-token ratio. The type-token ratio indicates the ratio of diverse words to the total number of words appearing in a particular narrative (Johnson, 1941). The more diverse words contained in a narrative or the higher type-token ratio, indicates a more concise document due to the low rate of repetitive words.

The Use of the Type-Token Ratio in Law Enforcement

The type-token ratio, in regard to law enforcement, was used in the court case of New York versus Henry and Armand Mulvey (Arens & Meadow, 1956). Arens and Meadow (1956) indicated that the use of psycholinguistics is the only scientific method with which to effectively analyze documents being used in court. The type-token ratio was used in the analysis of confessions obtained from the Mulveys by New York police officers. It is the only study known in which psycholinguistic data regarding confessions was provided as evidence in court.

Henry and Armand Mulvey were jointly accused of larceny and burglary. The trial was based on two confessions that were admitted and signed willingly by both Henry and Armand. When the case went to trial, Henry admitted his guilt and the

willful signing of the confession. Armand pleaded innocent to both charges on the basis that he was forced by police to sign the confession (Arens & Meadow, 1956).

Armand Mulvey's defense attorney motioned that there be an inspection of the confessions. Analyses of the confessions revealed that the confession elicited by Armand Mulvey was not consistent with his verbal ability nor his style of communication. The confession of Armand Mulvey was proven to be fabricated for two reasons. First, the confession was determined, by the use of type-token ratios, to contain an overabundance and repetition of legal and police jargon.

Second, the type-token ratio showed that the confession of Armand Mulvey had the exact same type-token ratio as well as the exact same sequence of word choices as the confession signed by his brother, Henry Mulvey (Arens & Meadow, 1956). Arens and Meadow (1956) state that the likelihood of two individuals giving the exact same confession, even if they were twins, is not probable. Thus, the confession or confessions must have been written by someone else: due to the jargon, most likely a police officer (Arens & Meadow, 1956).

In addition to the analyses of words used in discourse, such as loaded words or diverse words, psycholinguistic research has also included the analysis of themes or topics.

Loaded Topics

The emotive or loaded expressive function of communication reflects an individual's attitude toward what he/she is referring (Jacobson, 1960). In order to evaluate the communication, it is necessary to study it in context (Jacobson, 1972). Especially because "the relation, word to meaning, varies and its specification depends on the context" (Jacobson, 1972, p. 43). The relation of words to meanings can be evaluated through the use of topics, comments, and loaded topics.

A topic is defined as the subject that is being talked about or what or who the speaker is referring to (Fromkin & Rodman, 1988; Markel, 1992; Bolinger, 1989). A comment is defined as what is being said about the topic (Markel, 1992; Fromkin & Rodman, 1988). A loaded topic is defined as "a comment on a topic that contains a loaded word" (Markel, 1992, p. 1). The presence of the loaded word is essential because "the place to start is with expressions that are clearly meant to be biased and are chosen to project some inequality on the social situation" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 71). Thus the concept of the loaded topic is based upon the presence and necessity of loaded words.

Loaded Topics in Law Enforcement

The use of topic analysis has been revealed in studies concerning the interaction between police officers and victims (Powers, 1990). When determining the truthfulness or

deceitfulness in the testimony of a victim the police detect deception by listening closely to and reporting the language used by the victim (MacDonald, 1987).

Police officers are presumed to present an atmosphere which will promote the disclosure of information (Royal & Schutt, 1976), however, there are victims who are reluctant to divulge information for a number of reasons. Some of these reasons include; fear of self-involvement, inconvenience, resentment towards law enforcement personnel, interpersonal conflicts with the interviewing officer, or personal guilt or blame involved (Schultz, 1978). Unsupported or unfounded opinions regarding the circumstances or persons involved in the crime are sometimes revealed in the victim's testimony.

A thorough familiarity with the known details of a case enables a police officer to detect inconsistencies in the story of a dishonest victim (Powers, 1990). Some inconsistencies are found because the words the victim selects to describe the incident are not compatible with the known facts, clues, and/or evidence (MacDonald, 1987).

In many instances, the police officer concentrates on how information is presented rather than what type of information is presented. Lying or deceptive behaviors are identified by various research studies (Powers, 1990; MacDonald, 1987; Schultz, 1978; Royal & Schutt, 1976,; Kulis, 1986; and Kalbfleisch, 1990). These deceptive behaviors are recognized as both verbal and nonverbal. "Due to cultural

and psychological considerations, the way people tell lies can be readily identified and categorized" (Powers, 1990, p. 31-32). Deception is suspected by a police officer when the following verbal topics are revealed by a person being interviewed or questioned.

1. The deceptive person repeats words and phrases, providing too much emphasis on key points relating to the criminal case (Powers, 1990). A typical repeated topic is, "I don't own a gun, I tell you I don't own a gun." This is common when a gun was used in a burglary. The suspect was not the owner of the gun, but may have used a friend's gun in the crime incident (Powers, 1990).

2. The deceptive person commonly refers to certain topics or words relating to memory lapses, honesty, and religion (MacDonald, 1987). Examples of this behavior include: "I can't recall killing anyone," "To tell you the truth...", "I swear by my mother," and "Ask my minister, I go to church" (MacDonald, 1987).

3. A deceptive person frequently uses overly polite language. A police interview is not a situation that usually calls for an individual to be thankful, overly courteous, or polite. Overly polite topics include: "I really admire the work you are doing on this case," "Sir, do you mind if I say something?" and "Yes, sir, absolutely not, sir" (Powers, 1990; MacDonald, 1987).

4. A deceptive person often changes the frame of reference. A sudden change from speaking in the first person to speaking in the third person is a sign that the individual wants to distance him/herself from the crime (MacDonald, 1987). Thus, the topic switch refers to the grammatical use of personal pronouns.

These four instances provided above demonstrate how the use of topics is used in police work. However, contained within those four examples were unidentified loaded words which reflect loaded topics. For exemplar, "I really admire the work you are doing sir" contains a possible positive loaded word; admire. Therefore further investigation should be done to explore the use of loaded topics in police work and discourse.

Bell (1992) analyzed police reports of rape using loaded words and loaded topics. She first identified loaded words contained within police reports of rape. The loaded words provided the basis for which topics of rape victim credibility, non-credibility, cooperation, and non-cooperation were uncovered (Bell, 1992) based on the victim's age and race. Bell (1992) defined the loaded topics of credibility and non-credibility to reflect the interaction between the rape victim and the offender as it was described in the police report narrative. The loaded topics of cooperation and non-cooperation were defined as the interactions between the victim and people of authority

(police officers, medical personnel) as it was described in the police report narrative (Bell, 1992).

Results of her study indicated that more loaded credibility topics were present in the reports of white rape victims than black rape victims, and more non-cooperation topics were found in the reports of younger rape victims than older rape victims (Bell, 1992). Bell (1992) also indicates that more research needs to be done in the area of loaded topics and police reports.

Research should be expanded to include the other interactions which are revealed in the police reports concerning the interactions between the police and the offender/suspect, the police and witnesses, the police and the medical personnel, and the victim and witnesses. The interactions or "topics" described in police reports renders exploration. Exploration into this area is important because of the conflicting viewpoints of the rape victim-police officer interaction. Victims typically view the police interview process as an interrogation, as the police view the interview as the critical time to gather essential information. These opposing viewpoints are presented in chapter three, The Victim's Perspective and in chapter four, The Police Perspective.

CHAPTER 3 THE VICTIMS' PERSPECTIVE

"Rape is the ultimate violation of the body, completely stripping the victim of her selfhood, security, and sexual identification. Indeed, sexual assault is so traumatic for the victim that it may take years for her to recover, some never do" (Mills, 1989, p. 119). It was not until the women's movement in the 1970's that issues of men's violence against women came to be considered as more than just a private matter (Smith and Freinkel, 1988; Hanmer, Radford, & Stanko, 1989; Stanko, 1985; and Estrich, 1987). Each year there are more and more reports of sexual assault, rape, and spousal abuse that leave women traumatized emotionally and physically (Radford & Stanko, 1989).

The trauma the victims confronts is sometimes replayed many times through the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system "re-victimizes" the rape victim through mistreatment by police officers, lawyers, and judges (Smith, Sloan, & Ward, 1990). Victims of rape believe they have mistreated by the types of questions they are asked and by the attitudes displayed by police officers (Mills, 1989; Smith, et.al., 1990; Esrtich, 1987; Bell, 1991; Bulmiller, 1990; Margolin, 1972; Blair, 1985).

Dissatisfaction with the Legal System and Police

Rape victims are generally not knowledgeable about the legal processes that they may be put through if they report the incident nor do they anticipate that it would be supportive. Victims' attitudes towards police officers tends to be very negative (Sherman, 1988). Many women, who have reported a rape, commented that police officers were indifferent, unhelpful, and lacked concern when being interviewed (Stith, 1986). Estrich (1987), states that "two major reasons for not reporting rape are women's fear of treatment by police and prosecutors and the feeling that nothing can be done" (p. 37).

A rationale for the unsympathetic response to rape victims, may be due to the emphasis of police attention and reaction to criminals and criminal behavior. Stenross and Kleinman (1989) report that "the detectives felt that handling criminals was the 'real detective work' and looked forward to their encounters with them" (p. 439). If the police view interaction with criminals to be "the real work," then perhaps their view of victims becomes less like police work or desired work; unless the claim of sexual battery is combined with another count of crime (LeBeau, 1987).

However, some women have no other option than to turn to the police when they have been raped (Estrich, 1987). Although there are some women entering the law enforcement profession, police departments remain male-dominated

institutions. As a consequence, men's violence against women is largely policed and mediated by men (Hamner, 1989). Police officers decide whether a case of rape is valid and justified (Estrich, 1987).

Types of Rape

Police often have a difficult time classifying what constitutes rape (Williams, 1984). Not only are there deliniations of forcible rape and attempted rape, but there are several different types of rape. These types of rape include: rape by an unknown assailant, gang rape, acquaintance rape, date rape, and domestic rape (e.g., family member, spouse). These distinct types or classifications of rape connote differing attitudes by society and to a lesser extent the legal system. Perceptions and attitudes may translate to define the rape as more or less acceptable and valid.

Rape by an Unknown Assailant

Rape by an unknown assailant or "classic rape" is probably the scenerio that most people invision when they hear about rape (Williams, 1984). The rape victim in this case does not know her assailant. The "blitz rape" as it is sometimes called, occurs "out of the blue and without prior interaction between the assailant and victim" (LeBeau, 1987, p. 129). Typical blitz rapes occur when an offender breaks into the home or residence of the victim or stages an attack

outdoors (LeBeau, 1987). Williams (1984) states that rape by an unknown assailant is probably more likely to be reported to authorities than other types of rape.

Classic or blitz rape may be reported more than other types of rape due to the social and cultural attitudes regarding this type of rape. One reason is that this type of rape is sometimes labeled as a felony rape. "The sexual assault might constitute a by-product of another felonious act" (LeBeau, 1987, p. 130) such as a burglary. Thus, since there are two crimes involved, authorities and the public pay closer and more serious attention to the assault and place less or no blame on the victim.

Another reason this type of rape is both reported more by the victim and accepted by society is that the rapist is a stranger. The victim is thought to actually be victimized rather than complying or contributing to the crime as often assumed in cases where the victim knows her assailant either casually or intimately (Bumiller, 1990).

Acquaintance

While rapes by strangers are still underreported, rapes by acquaintances are virtually nonreported (Warshaw, 1988; Belknap, 1989). Statistics indicate that a woman may be four times more likely to be raped by someone they know rather than a stranger (Warshaw, 1988). However, the National Crime Survey (1989) reports that more women are raped by strangers than by nonstrangers by a ratio of two to one.

However, in acquaintance rape, the rapist and the victim may know each other casually having met through a common activity, mutual friend, at a party, at work, or on a first or blind date. Being on a first or blind date distinguishes this type of rape from date rape which will be defined below.

Victims of acquaintance rape experience, in many cases, a "blame the victim" attitude from friends, family, their assailant, and the police. The victim receives at least partial blame because of the prevalent correlation between sexual assault and the use of drugs and alcohol and social and cultural beliefs. One research study indicated that "about 75 percent of the men and at least 55 percent of the women involved in acquaintance rape had been drinking or taking drugs just before the attack" (Warshaw, 1988, p. 44).

Social and cultural beliefs lead some to believe that if a woman has been drinking, even if she is not drunk, her drinking is believed by men to be a justification for rape (Warshaw, 1988). An intoxicated man may become more sexually aggressive and violent (Gustafson, 1988). Many men who commit acquaintance rape excuse their acts because they were drunk or under the influence of drugs (Gustafson, 1988; Warshaw, 1988). "It also makes police and prosecutors less inclined to press charges in acquaintance rapes" (Warshaw, 1988, p. 45) due to the fact that one or both parties involved in the sexual assault were not sober. Evidence and

testimony may be seen as less credible due to a problem of proof.

Another social problem and rationale for the limited number of reported acquaintance rapes concerns the supposed behavior of the victim before the assault. These behaviors, or actually myths, include: "the woman was asking for it (no means yes)," "the man payed for the date," "the woman dressed suggestively," "the date or interaction ended at either the woman's or man's apartment rather than 'in public'." (Warshaw, 1988, Belknap, 1989).

Gang Rape

Gang rape is a very real phenomenon and markedly distinct from acquaintance rape. The primary difference is "the use of rape as a reinforcing mechanism for membership in a group of men" (Warshaw, 1988, p. 101). The victim of a multi-offender rape may endure harsh judgment by society (Parrot, 1988). Gang rape also carries with it additional feelings of humiliation that may not be present in single assailant rape cases (Warshaw, 1988). A research study at Vanderbilt University (Koker, 1989, in Warshaw, 1989, p.102) isolated characteristics that are twice as likely to occur in gang rape than single assailant rape. These characteristics include: insults, forced fellatio, pulling, biting, and burning the breasts, urinating on the victim, putting semen on her body, and demanding masturbation. Added humiliation occurs from the fact that more than one assailant is

involved, photographs are sometimes taken, and cheering from observers (Parrot, 1988).

Gang rape "has often been tacitly condoned by a society that still believes that boys must 'sow their wild oats'" (Warshaw, 1988, p. 102). Some studies suggest that culturally (Americans) are likely to believe that the victim in a gang rape is a nymphomaniac and that the woman participated of her free will (Parrot, 1988). Due to the shame and humiliation felt by gang rape victims, these incidents, which occur most frequently on college campuses, remain unreported (Parrot, 1988).

Domestic Rape

Incest or intrafamilial rape or sexual abuse is probably the most underreported type of rape (Parker, Meier, & Monahan, 1989). Although the majority of domestic rape is sexual abuse of a child by a parent or other sibling, sexual abuse also occurs between husbands and wives, adult siblings, or between a parent and an adult child (Blackman, 1989). The social stigma associated with incestuous rape places an added burden on the victim, thus perhaps an explanation of the numbers of unreported incidences (Parker, et. al., 1989).

In a marital relationship, married individuals may "give in" to their partner's wishes, believing in the vows they took and that they should make sacrifices for the sake of keeping their marriage together at any expense (Stets & Straus, 1989). Thus reported rape of this nature may be

difficult for a spouse to endure due to religious or moral beliefs (Stets & Straus, 1989). An incident of rape may not even be perceived as rape, but an unpleasant marital "duty."

On the other hand if the rape is reported, it is possible that the interpretation of this report may be unfounded for the very same rationale-wives are supposed to submit to their husbands; there is no case of rape (Dobash, & Dobash, 1979).

Date Rape

Since the early 1970's there has been an increased awareness that wife abuse is not restricted to wives, but also to lovers and girlfriends (Belknap, 1989). Since battering and rape occurs between husbands and wives, it is not surprising that unmarried women involved in intimate relationships experience sexual victimization (Belknap, 1989).

Common reasons for the occurrence of date rape include: jealousy over a third person, drinking behavior and alcohol abuse, degree of sexual desire (Makepeace, 1981; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Because of these reasons and other dimensions of an already existing intimate relationship, such as the couple has previously engaged in sexual touching and/or intercourse, the interpretation over consensual behavior becomes an issue for the victim, the offender, the police, and the courts if the rape is reported and the offender is prosecuted (Belknap, 1989). Date rape, reporting

date rape, and prosecuting a date rapist becomes problematic for the same reasons mentioned above regarding acquaintance rape (i.e., drugs, alcohol) (Warshaw, 1988).

Unreported Rape Cases

Some studies suggest that a great number of rape incidences go unreported (National Crime Survey, 1989; Estrich, 1987; Serman, 1986). Victims of rape do not report the crime due to fear, shame, stigmatization. First, some rape victims do not want the publicity. Victims fear being stigmatized by their community or religious organization (Roberts, 1990; Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 1986).

Second, rape victims do not report the crime because they feel that they are somehow partially to blame for the incident. The victim becomes a victim-blamer (Estrich, 1987). "It appears that most women forced to have sex by men they know see themselves as victims, but not as legitimate crime victims" (Estrich, 1987, p. 12).

Third, research suggests that the closer the victim is to her assailant, the less likely she will be to report the rape to police (Roberts, 1990). If the rape has occurred domestically women typically do not report the crime because they consider it a private or a personal matter (Langan and Innes, 1986; and Sparks, Genn, & Dodd, 1977), for fear of repeated abuse, economic dependency, and/or the safety of

their children (Goolkasian, 1986; Joint Strategy and Action Committee, 1977).

The degree of social intimacy, such as the victim-offender relationship, influences the discretion used by police when taking a report (Black, 1980; Willis & Wells, 1988). Black (1980) suggests that crimes involving strangers are considered more seriously by police than crimes involving acquaintances and intimates. Police are more likely to write a report and to place more importance on a case when the victim and offender were strangers (Black, 1980; Willis & Wells, 1988; Sherman, 1985; Pepinsky, 1976). The police tended to obtain more witness testimony and spend more time searching for leads in the case when the victim revealed that the suspect was not a friend, relative, nor acquaintance (Forst, Lucianovic, & Cox, 1977). Friedrich (1977) reported that police are more likely to pursue and make an arrest when there is more social distance between the victim and the offender.

Aldrich and Nelson (1984) stated that a rape case is driven by the victim's willingness to participate with the police and dedication to pursue the case to trial. Kerstetter and Van Winkle's (1990) study investigated the decision to prosecute regarding cases of acquaintance rape versus cases of stranger rape. Results of their study revealed that detectives were more likely to pursue and prosecute a case that had strong conviction possibilities.

Detectives indicated that a case of rape is strong, not dependent on the victim-offender relationship, but on the strength of the physical evidence and the desire of the victim to proceed with the complaint (Kerstetter and Van Winkle, 1990).

Research Questions Based on the Type of Rape

Based on the above literature regarding the types of rape reported to police, the following research questions were framed:

RQ1) What are the statistics in Gainesville regarding the different types of rape reported?

This question is asked in order to establish whether Gainesville, Florida is consistent or distinct regarding the types of rape reported as compared to the National Crime Survey and other literature suggesting that there is more stranger rapes reported than date, acquaintance, domestic, and gang rapes.

RQ2) Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?

Language, in this question as well as those proceeding, refers to the loaded language (positive and negative words) and the diverse language (unique or different words) contained within the text of the police reports.

RQ3) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?

The Victims' Race

Victims of rape experience physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. These crimes know no social, economic, ethnic, religious, nor racial boundaries (Goolkasian, 1986; Stanko, 1985). However, research does indicate that rape rates are low where the status of women is high (Hoff, 1986). The status of women depicts what Berg and Johnson (1978) referred to as the "dispositional factors" of the victim. These dispositional factors include the appearance of the victim, her patterns of behavior, and her race (Berg & Johnson, 1978). High status or positive predispositional factors for reporting rape victims are: upper socio-economic class, cooperation demonstrated with police, and being white (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990; Willis & Wells, 1988; Davis, 1983).

Black (1980) stated that the race of the victim is a significant factor in a police officer's decision-making process when determining a situation to be criminal or non-criminal. "One of the most common stereotypes is the belief that assaults on blacks are not serious" (Willis & Wells, 1988, p. 697). Huseman and McCurley (1972) interviewed police officers and found that problems in their interpersonal communication with both offenders and victims

stemmed from their attitudes towards minorities, and in particular blacks.

Goldstein (1960) stated that police arrest decisions are based on the the value system present in their particular department "as reflected in their attitude and stereotypical view of the Negro" (p. 576). Black victims of rape contend that they are less likely to report rape than white victims because of the perceived treatment they would receive from police (Feldman-Summers & Ashworth, 1981). There is a distrust among minorities towards law enforcement, especially in sex crimes (Sue & McKinney, 1975).

The distrust among minority victims towards police was reinforced by the notion that police are more apt to take reports from victims that exhibit polite and cooperative behaviors (Davis, 1983; Black & Reiss, 1967; Black, 1971). However, even when black victims were polite, they have not been able to influence police attitudes or behaviors regarding the filed complaint and its seriousness (Freidrich, 1977; Sherman, 1980). The police decision to take a report was again lowered significantly if the victim was both black and of lower socio-economic class (Sherman, 1980).

The distrust among minority victims may also have developed from the demonstration of police behavior towards black offenders and suspects. Freidrich's (1977) analysis of racial attitudes and police indicated that the more prejudice white officers showed towards blacks the more likely they

would be to arrest a black suspect than a white suspect. Bogomolny (1976) revealed that police officers were more likely to stop a suspect that is black, interrogate a black suspect, and arrest a black suspect. Police defended their racial inconsistency by stating that blacks tended to be more disrespectful towards them than white offenders (Black, 1971).

Scholnick's (1966) study investigated police race attitudes and the use of pejorative words with blacks. Police were found to have negative attitudes towards blacks based on the word choices they selected when discussing race (Scholnick, 1966). A surprising interpretation was made by Scholnick (1966) who stated that although police officers did not like blacks and used racially offensive labels for them, "it is unjust to accuse them of racial bias" (p.82).

Rafky (1973) expanded and developed the research completed by Scholnick in the area of police race attitudes and labeling. Rafky (1973) also evaluated the racially charged slurs and pejorative words used by police, both black and white officers, when referring to blacks and found that "label preference is related to racial attitudes" (p. 71). The positive or negative word choices and labels used in reference to certain racial groups are directly related to racial feelings (Williams, 1969). There is "a relatively close matching between private attitudes and labels which are public indicators of these attitudes" (Rafky, 1973, p. 77).

Bell (1992) analyzed the language in police reports of rape which were public indicators of their attitudes. The language used in police reports were investigated by identifying loaded words and the loaded topics which indicated interactions between the victim and the offender or between the victim and persons of authority (i.e., police officers). The loaded topic of credibility was defined to include those interactions between the victim and the offender which lent to the overall credibility and believability of the rape victim (Bell, 1992). Through this exploration, the police reports of white rape victims were found to contain more credible loaded topics than reports of black rape victims (Bell, 1992). Thus, the overall believability of white rape victims was shown to be higher than the believability of black rape victims (Bell, 1992).

Research Questions Relating to the Victim's Race

Based on the above literature regarding the race of the rape victim, the following research questions were framed:

RQ4) Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?

RQ5) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?

In addition to the negative attitudes towards police concerning the type of rape committed and the race of the

victim, women have stated that the major problem with police is that they lack empathy when conducting victim interviews (Kennedy, 1988).

The Lack of Empathy in Police Interviewing

Rape victims have reported problems when they come in contact with the police, hospitals, lawyers, and the courts (Kennedy, 1988). These problems have supported a movement to improve the operations within the criminal justice system, however there is still the realization that the system does not serve the victims of rape (Albi, 1977). Standard police interviewing techniques have been criticized (Fisher, et. al., 1987; Fisher, et. al., 1986; Geiselman & Fisher, 1985; Hunter, 1990) for the following reasons:

1. Police interrupt the victim's narrative description of the crime incident. Fisher and Price-Rouch (1986), found that 36 percent of eyewitness narratives were interrupted by the interviewer.

2. Police were found to use an excessive amount of closed-ended questions, which only allow for a short yes or no response from victims (Olsen & Wells, 1991).

3. Police were found to use an inappropriate sequencing of interview questions. For example, police were found to provide inappropriate follow-up questions, as well as, ask questions out of sequence or with no chronological order (Fisher, Geiselman, & Raymond, 1987). Arbitrary order of

question was found to hinder the victim's memory (Bennett & Hess, 1991).

4. Police were found to use an excessive use of negatively phrased questions and comments, such as, "you don't remember what happened?" Negative phrasing of questions implies the victim is not credible because she does not recall the specific information (Fisher, et.al., 1987). Negative phrasing of questions and negative comments made by police officers often discouraged victims from trying to remember a detail or pertinent piece of information (Fisher, et.al., 1987).

5. Comments and questions directed towards the victims included the viewpoint and/or opinion of the police officer (Fisher, et.al., 1987). For example, inappropriate language such as technical police jargon was used during interviews with rape victims (Fisher, et.al., 1987). Judgmental comments were also demonstrated by the police officers when interacting with rape victims (Williams, 1981). Fisher, et.al., (1987) study quoted an officer saying to a rape victim, "They [previous investigators] thought it was funny that you had all your clothes on and [offender] didn't have all his clothes on" (p. 183). This line of questioning is not only inappropriate and degrading to the victim, but the information possibly obtained would contribute little to the overall case (Fisher, et.al., 1987).

6. The police officers became detracted from the victim due to auditory or visual distractions (i.e., radio, other person in room) (Fisher & Price-Roush, 1986).

7. Police are not perceptive of the victim's auditory cues. Police officers need to attend to the victim's accent, speech pattern, specific words, rate and volume of speech, and any speech impediments (Fisher, et.al., 1987). Failure to respond to these cues demonstrates a lack of sensitivity and compassion for the victim's emotions at the time of the interview (Olsen & Wells, 1991).

The questions asked by police officers often ignore or overlook the suffering of the victim and the impact the crime has had on the victim and her family (Reynolds, 1989). Rape victims also contend that they felt demeaned by the "just the facts, ma'am" school of interviewing (Olsen & Wells, 1987).

Margolin (1972), described the process of police interviewing as interrogation. The interview experience components and questions she felt as being distasteful and degrading are as follows:

1. The police had the victim repeat the account of the rape several times to different police officers.

2. The police officers seemed "intrigued" by the sexual details of the case, such as the offender was unable to perform sexual intercourse.

3. The police inferred that the testimony was invalid (a lie), and that the alleged rape occurred because of fear of pregnancy or some other reason.

4. The police asked questions regarding the relationship with the offender; How long had you known him?, Had the victim met the man previous to sexual intercourse?, Has she had any past experiences of sexual assault?, Has she had prior sexual relationships?, and Did the sexual act occur under consent?

5. A lie detector test was requested by the interviewing officers.

6. The police questioned the state of mind of the victim; Did you use any drugs and/or alcohol?, When did you last have your menstrual period?, Are you on the pill or using other forms of birth control?, and Have you had any operations or abortions?

These questions have left rape victims feeling that, "the rape was probably the least traumatic incident of the whole evening. If I am ever raped again,...I wouldn't report it to the police because of all the degradation" (Margolin, 1972, p. 21). Cole (1977) stated that "a lot of the police are very voyeuristic about whether the woman secretly enjoyed the rape, how it felt, whether she likes sex a lot-asking insulting and unnecessary questions like that" (p. 129). These perceived negative attitudes and perverted behaviors of police officers have accounted for the re-victimization of

rape victims and the call to the police that they need empathy training (Albi, 1977).

A Definition of Empathy

Empathy is defined as "the affective component of decentering; that is, a reaction to another that reflects recognition and understanding of the other's emotional state (Redmond, 1985, p. 377), and "intellectually taking the role or perspective of another" (Gladstein, 1983). Rogers (1980), suggests that in order for a person to empathize with others, the individual must be able to understand them, to see the world as they see it, and to feel what they feel. In order to accomplish this, empathic listening and communication must include the seeking and obtaining of information (Arnold, 1990).

Burleson (1983), states that social cognitive abilities are important factors of an individual's competence to comfort others in an empathic, sensitive manner. The link between cognitive abilities and empathy are probably made because many of the definitions of empathy include "nonjudgmental" abilities or the "open-mindedness" of the perceiver (Burleson, 1983; Arnold, 1990).

Thus, empathic listening and empathic communication are considered to be facilitative skills for police officers to possess when questioning and interviewing rape victims (Mills, 1989). Empathy facilitates communication and "has

repeatedly been identified as one of the most critical variables affecting the outcome of the helping process" (Keefe, 1976, p. 384). Empathic listening and communication skills can be learned (Keefe, 1976), and must be learned and exhibited by police officers when interviewing victims (Ryals, 1991; Royal & Schutt, 1976; Mills, 1989; Wirtz & Harrell, 1987).

Police seriously underestimate the needs of victims and prioritize efficiency (completing reports) first (Mawby & Gill, 1987; Wirtz & Harrell, 1987). Research on police interviewing has repeatedly indicated that the officer be empathic (Mills, 1989; Royal & Schutt, 1976), calm (Royal & Schutt, 1976; Ryals, 1991; Bennett & Hess, 1991), and to be a good listener (Ryals, 1991; Mills, 1989).

An Empathic Alternative: Cognitive Interviewing

Police frequently have little or no physical evidence to guide their investigation, even in some rape cases (Fisher, et., al., 1987). Given the traumatic situation of rape victims and the practical necessity to question them intensely, Geiselman and Fisher (1985), have developed a technique to maximize the completeness and accuracy of victim and eyewitness reports. The new technique is cognitive interviewing or the witness memory retrieval technique, which is based on research studies in the areas of memory and cognition (Fisher, et. al., 1987).

The cognitive interviewing technique has been shown to "produce as much as 45 percent more accurate information" from witnesses and victims (Olsen, et. al., 1991). Cognitive interviewing is based upon the principles of mnemonics and the main goal is to enable the victim to mentally reconstruct the physical and psychological environment of the crime scene (Fisher, et. al., 1987; Geiselman & Fisher, 1985; Olsen, et. al., 1991).

Cognitive interviewing is certainly not more difficult to conduct than the more traditional law enforcement interview with its rapid-fire, short-answer questions; it is simply different. We need to recognize that we are often so accustomed to asking the 6 W's (who, what, when, where, why, and how) that we may be too preoccupied with our next question to really listen (Olsen, et. al., 1987, p. 28).

The process of mentally reconstructing the rape may trigger strong emotional responses in the victims (Foa, Feske, Murdock, Kozak, & McCarthy, 1991). Thus, it is important that the police officers understand that the victim may vividly relive the rape, demonstrating behaviors of fear, anger, shame, or helplessness (Olsen, et. al., 1987; Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990).

The cognitive interview, in hopes of dealing with the emotions involved concerning the victim, differs from most other interviewing models and processes. "Most models suggest that the officer begins by asking a simple question- 'Are you OK?'-and then really listening to the victim's responses" (Olsen, et. al., 1987). The cognitive interview

consists of a four step process or model (Bennett & Hess, 1991; Oslen et. al., 1987) which includes:

1. Ask the victim to reconstruct the circumstances. Ask the victim to recall how they were feeling, the weather, surroundings, objects, people, noises, and smells.
2. Ask the victim to report everything and make this an open-ended question in which it will become an uninterrupted narrative.
3. Ask the victim to recall the events in different order, perhaps starting in reverse.
4. Ask the victim to change perspectives. Have the victim tell the story assuming the role of another person, perhaps as someone who was watching the incident.

This technique used in a research study indicated that 20 to 35 percent more correct information was received from witnesses as opposed to witnesses who recalled information through the standard police interviewing method (Fisher, et. al., 1987). It was never well defined, however, how they tested for witness accuracy. This technique was also found to be more empathic, thus revealing a more positive experience by victims who are interviewed after a traumatic incident (Olsen & Wells, 1987).

Most research has shown that rape victims have a very negative perception of police because police officers have demonstrated very little empathy, understanding, and concern towards them, as well as deemed them responsible or blamed

them for the rape (Stanko, 1985; Estrich, 1987; Hamner, 1989; Goolkasian, 1986; Roberts, 1990; Sherman, 1988; Viano, 1990; Stith, 1986; Mawby & Gill, 1987).

Victims react to rape and sexual assault in a variety of ways, from hostility, anger, and rage, to withdrawal and docility (Mills, 1989). "But whether the rape victim is stoic or enraged,...the investigator must be demonstratably supportive, empathic and attentive, listening carefully to the victim" (Mills, 1989, p. 119).

Opposing Views: Some Rape Victims Say Police are Helpful

Despite many criticisms of police behavior and communication with rape victims, some studies have reported positive attitudes towards police (Wirtz & Harrell, 1987). Wirtz and Harrell (1987), Burgess and Holmstrom (1975), Greenberg, Ruback, and Westcott (1983), Homant and Kennedy (1985), and Sales and Shore (1984), all indicate that rape victims have reported favorable interactions with police officers. Police were seen as being helpful, making the victims feel better, understanding, concerned, and providing information about procedures and services applicable to the victim (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975).

Even though police officers are sometimes perceived as helpful and regarded positively by victims, a great amount of negative light is shed on law enforcement by victims, victimologists, and rape victim advocates. Some of the negative attitudes of police may stem from the fact that

police work may be misunderstood, or not understood from the police officers' perspective.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLICE PERSPECTIVE

There are certain limitations to the cognitive interviewing technique as well as other techniques suggested in the previous chapter regarding police officers and their interviewing skills. Some of these limitations include inept communication skills on the part of the victim. Poor verbal skills of the victims may be due to their lack of education, cultural surroundings, or induced trauma because the location of the police interview is frequently on the crime scene (Fletcher, 1990; Rachlin, 1991). Interview time allowances for each victim may not seem appropriate from the victims' perspective however, written reports must be filled out and filed in a reasonable amount of time, and the interview must be geared to the information needed to complete the report (Fisher, et.al., 1987). During any type of interview, the officer should be taking notes, thus the amount and speed at which the victim provides information may be too difficult for the officer to write sufficient information (Fisher, et. al., 1987).

Other police limitations to the suggested interview techniques established by researchers include occupational responsibilities. The officers have a certain workload, departmental and individual to complete, as well as taking

calls and reports from other crime victims, witnesses, and offenders (Hunter, 1990; Fisher, et. al., 1987). According to a report by the Rand Corporation (1975), a major factor that determines the professional success of police officers is the accuracy and completeness of their investigative techniques (Morgan, 1990).

Police investigation centers around the collection of information (Fletcher, 1990; Rachlin, 1991). Information from victims, witnesses, suspects, and medical personnel must be gathered quickly, efficiently, and accurately, in order for the officer to make an arrest or any progress in a particular case (Hunter, 1990). With the collection of information comes the interpretation of information. Police make decisions and judgments based on the information that is provided to them (Rachlin, 1991). Information is provided to them in the forms of verbal and nonverbal behaviors. Police officers' correct behavioral interpretations have frequently been and perhaps only been identified and portrayed through the media (Morgan, 1990). Although these depictions of police work in the media are positive ones, they still do not represent the police perspective from actual police officers.

Newspapers, magazines, television, and movies perpetuate the idea that the police are only engaged in the exciting and dangerous enterprise of apprehending criminals (Morgan, 1990). Emphasis on the adventurous nature of police work has "led to a tendency on the part of both the public and the

police to underestimate the range and complexity of the total police task" (Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1989, p. 10).

Contemporary writers have written, "It is difficult to avoid romanticising about police work" (Morgan, 1990). The "thrill of the chase" portrayed in the movies is quite compelling, however these depictions are usually fictional. The fictional portrayal of police officers and detectives include details regarding their skills and qualities which make the "super sleuths" (Morgan, 1990). Some of these skills include; forensic medicine, ballistics, firearms training, and the search and discovery of clues. The search and discovery of clues relative to a particular crime or alleged crime includes the understanding of human behavior, communication, and the so-called "police intuition."

Clues and evidence: The Need to Question Victims

Clues are both physical and circumstantial. Physical clues include the collection of evidence found at the scene of the crime or on the body of a victim. Photographs of the crime scene, traces of human fluids (e.g., blood, urine, semen, ect.), hairs, fiber samples, and fingerprints are some examples of physical evidence that are then sent to crime laboratories for analyses (Schultz, 1978).

Evidence is one of the most important aspects of the successful prosecution of a rape case (Grispano, 1990). Evidence includes the collection of body fluids from the

victim through a thorough pelvic examination (i.e., smear slides of spermatozoa, blood), photographs of any sustained injuries, pubic combings for foreign hairs, fibers, soil, etc., and the collection of verbal testimony or circumstantial evidence (Grispano, 1990). Police officers, although they do not conduct the medical examination, are responsible for accurately collecting, labeling, and storing the evidence necessary for the case. "It should be noted that the investigating officer(s) will be responsible for both overseeing the execution of the medical procedures and the managing of the physical evidence" (Grispano, 1990, p. 14).

Circumstantial evidence must be compiled through the communication with individuals knowledgeable or associated with the particular crime (Kelley, 1990). In particular, police officers use aspects of verbal and nonverbal communication to assist their accumulation of evidence or testimony from subjects. Collection of both physical and circumstantial evidence can take eight to ten hours of a police officer's time. This incorporates an entire shift of work dedicated to the initial stages of one case.

Communication Guidelines For Interviewing and Writing Police Reports

There are certain guidelines to effective police interviewing that have been defined by several research studies (Ryals, 1991; Mills, 1989; Olsen & Wells, 1991; Bennett & Hess, 1991; Fisher, Geiselman, & Raymond, 1987; Blair, 1985; Hunter, 1990; Reynolds, 1989; Luteran, 1991). These studies have compiled communicative behaviors that should occur during the interviewing process and are compatible with the occupational responsibilities of police officers.

When an officer is dispatched to a rape call, he/she may encounter "a distraught, possibly hysterical victim in the first psychological coping stages after an intrusively brutal attack" (Grispano, 1990, p. 14) The officer must recognize the rape victim's trauma by responding attentively, however, this is the ideal time at which to collect both physical and circumstantial evidence (Grispano, 1990). The uncertainty and discomfort of the situation is two-fold. The victim is typically not receptive to questioning nor to a full medical examination because of the induced shock, humiliation, and trauma of the incident. The police officer's emotions and feelings at this time are also difficult. The police are typically embarrassed and unsure of the situation, and feel sympathy for the victim (Grispano, 1990; Fletcher, 1990). "Yet regardless of these various problems, a full and

complete description of the physical assault is crucial to obtain the physical evidence needed for a successful scientific analysis" (Grispano, 1990, p. 15).

Police officers must ask personal, probing questions and inform the victim that a detailed description of the offender and assault may help to apprehend the offender (Ryals, 1991). Police officers are not perverted when they gather information regarding the exact details of the assault, including a step by step reconstruction of the rape (Hunter, 1990). It is the job and the occupational responsibility of competent police officers to inquire whether the victim has had sexual intercourse prior to the assault, when that sexual intercourse occurred, and what type of sexual contact it was (i.e., vaginal, oral, anal) (Grispano, 1990). It is the job and the occupational responsibility of competent police officers to inquire how the victim was assaulted regarding the type of penetration made or attempted, whether the victim was forced to attempt or successfully perform oral sex on the offender, and whether the offender ejaculated or left any other body fluids such as saliva on or in the victim's body (Grispano, 1990). It is the job and the occupational responsibility of competent police officers to inquire whether the victim has "bathed, showered, douched, urinated, defecated, vomited, brushed teeth, gargled, after the assault" (Grispano, 1990, p. 15). Failure to ask any of those questions may result not only in the loss of physical

evidence but the loss of a rape trial before it even makes it to court.

Police officers must stay in control at all times (Ryals, 1991). Due to the traumatic nature of rape cases, officers must maintain their emotional control. Experience helps the officer develop effective interviewing techniques as well as helps them adjust to the intense emotions they may be encountering. Effective police interviewers "must discipline themselves to focus on what is being said and how it is being said" (Ryals, 1991, p.7).

Although the above mentioned communication skills are advocated when questioning "real" victims of sexual assault and rape, some research indicates that the problem is not with police officers lacking communication skills (Hunter, 1990), but with the memory of victims about the incident (Fisher, et. al., 1987) as well as deceptive victims.

In particular, police are perceptive to human behaviors that are characteristically truthful or deceitful (MacDonald, 1987). Some of these behaviors are described in research relevant to communication, criminal justice, and law enforcement. Powers (1990), Parker (1989), MacDonald (1987), Kulis (1976), and Schultz (1978), have presented some of the communication cues that are typically associated with the detection of deception. However, many detections of deceptive behavior have not been fully operationalized and subtle deceitful behaviors are explained and attributed the

the mystique, intuition, and experience of a police officer (Colton & Herbert, 1978).

Attitudes Assist in Detecting Deception

Although police officers plan for a comfortable atmosphere which will promote the disclosure of information (Royal & Schutt, 1976; Yescke, 1990), there are victims who are reluctant to divulge information for a number of reasons. Some of these reasons include: fear of self-involvement, inconvenience, resentment towards law enforcement personnel, interpersonal conflicts with the interviewing officer, or personal guilt or blame involved (Schultz, 1978).

However, even in a sympathetic or empathic atmosphere, a state of shock may cause a victim to produce "hazy, erroneous, or garbled" information (Schultz, 1978, p. 37). Most victims find the interview to be a strained situation (Powers, 1990). Uncertainty about the police officer(s) and the novelty of the situation tend to make the person apprehensive and guarded (Kulis, 1976). A degree of fear may develop which, in turn, may cause a victim to withhold information either intentionally or unintentionally (Powers, 1990). Unsupported or unfounded opinions regarding the circumstances or persons involved in the crime are sometimes revealed in the victim's testimony.

A thorough familiarity with the known details of a case enables a police officer to detect inconsistencies in the story of a dishonest victim (Powers, 1990). Although it is

not clearly stated in research studies how the inconsistencies are found, it may be assumed that the words the victim selects to describe the incident are not compatible with the known facts, clues, and/or evidence.

In many instances, the police officer concentrates on how information is presented rather than what type of information is presented. Lying or deceptive behaviors are identified by various research studies (Powers, 1990; MacDonald, 1987; Schultz, 1978; Royal & Schutt, 1976,; Kulis, 1986; and Kalbfleisch, 1990). These deceptive behaviors are recognized as verbal and nonverbal. "Due to cultural and psychological considerations, the way people tell lies can be readily identified and categorized" (Powers, 1990, p. 31-32).

Through the detection of these verbal and nonverbal cues, police officers establish an opinion concerning the attitudes, emotions, and psychological state of the witness or victim (Morgan, 1990). Although these behaviors may be indicative for many deceptive witnesses, suspects, and victims, there has been no research regarding the vocal and verbal deceptive behaviors of rape victims. Given the circumstances of a rape, (i.e., trauma, embarrassment, pain) the deceptive, or deceitful rape "victim" may display other distinct and/or different behaviors.

A nationally publicized case of fabricated rape was that of Tawana Brawley in New York City (Payne, 1989). She manufactured the entire incident of rape in order to restrain

her step-father's anger. A summary of the Brawley case is as follows:

A fifteen-year-old black girl is discovered in an apparent state of shock curled up in a plastic garbage bag. She does not say much to police officers or doctors, but according to her relatives and her lawyers she had been kidnapped and repeatedly raped for several days by four white men who appeared to have police affiliations...Months later, the girl's boyfriend claims that she told him she and her mother made up the whole story so that her stepfather would not beat her for staying out late, but an aunt who believed the story contacted the news media which sensationalized the incident into headlines for months (Karmen, 1990, p. 250).

Police officers with experience have demonstrated the ability to decipher fabricated cases of rape based on the testimony provided by the alleged victims (Fletcher, 1990). Experienced officers operate on what they consider to be their insight and intuition (Fletcher, 1990; Rachlin, 1991). However, with experience, desensitization of human experiences may occur (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989).

Experience Level of the Police Officer

The emphasis of investigative skills has been misplaced in the media, however, there are some important insights offered by television and the movies revealing aspects of police culture and operations (Morgan, 1990). There is an element of truth in police "fiction" especially in the representation of the experienced police officer. The experienced officer is given credit for having "gut

instincts," "superb intuition," and "a knack for detecting the truth" (Hurd, 1979).

Police experience is largely dependent on the particular department to which they belong (Hunter, 1990). Because of the population diversity within geographic regions of the United States, crime rates as well as the opportunity for police to gain experience differs (Hunter, 1990). The experience level of an officer is determined by the individual departments (Rachlin, 1991). For example, an officer trained and patrolling in New York City is considered to be experienced and even ready to teach at the New York Police Academy after only one year "on the beat" (Rachlin, 1991). Officers who work in the suburbs outside the cities of Washington, D.C., Boston, and Chicago are stated to be experienced after eight years on the force (Friedrich, 1977). In Gainesville, Florida officers are considered to be experienced after five years on patrol (Gainesville Police Officer B, Personal Communication, October, 1991).

When communicating with and listening to rape victims, experienced police officers may not display overt sympathy or empathy towards the victim. Desensitization may occur for two reasons: the officer has become "hardened to the trauma of rape," or the incidences of fabricated rape have caused the officer to become cautious and synical (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989).

Desensitization of police officers may be self induced as well as suggested behavior externally induced by superiors (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989). Stenross and Kleinman (1989), report that one detective "disliked working the first part of rape cases (the interview) because of the uncomfortable feelings the crime evoked in himself" (p. 443). Thus, the police officer would adjust the evoked emotions by becoming overly calm. Stenross and Kleinman (1989), also report that officers said that "their superiors expected them to cool victims as a matter of public relations" (p. 443).

Although many police officers found their interaction with rape victims to be difficult, "they resented having to 'hold their hands' (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989, p. 444). The superiors manifestisted and supported their resentments through the "macho" brotherhood within the police culture (Manning, 1979). "Within that occupational culture nuturing others is regarded as low status women's work" (Hunt, 1984). However, in recent years, the increase in the numbers of female police officers has increased (Estrich, 1987) and there have been developments of Sexual Crime Units that frequently employ all female members (GPD, Officer L, May, 1991). Thus, components of police officer desensitization may be due to the cultural aspects of police departments and the amount of years they are "on the job" or their experience levels, rather than their gender.

Research in the area of experience, desensitization, and communication has been limited to therapists and the degree of empathy given to their clients (Rogers, 1980). Barrett-Lennard (1962), and Mullen and Abeles (1972), reported that experienced therapists offer a higher degree of empathy to their clients than do inexperienced therapists. Evidence from both of their studies indicate that as years of experience increase so do the levels of understanding and empathy.

On the other hand, Raskin (1974), revealed that it is the experienced therapist that demonstrates lower levels of empathy and understanding as compared to inexperienced therapists. Parker, Meirer, and Monahan's (1989), research is in agreement with Raskin. They found that police officers commonly experience "burnout" as a cumulative effect of seeing tragedies "day after day, year after year" (Parker, et. al., 1989, p. 151). "It is difficult not to become disenchanted with the work, the community, and even human nature" (Parker, et. al., 1989, p. 151).

Hicks, et.al., (1985) study investigated the variable of experience in police work. They analyzed police perceptions of interpersonal training needs and found that experienced officers as well as inexperienced officers felt they could use more interpersonal training when interacting with angry drivers, unruly crowds, and victims (Hicks, et. al., 1985). Sherman (1980) explored the causes of police behavior and

stated that "more experienced officers do less police work, but the work they do is often better than that of their less experienced colleagues" (p. 73). More specifically, experienced officers were found to make fewer arrests than inexperienced officers, but the arrests they did make were more likely to result in convictions (Forst, et. al., 1977; Friedrich, 1977).

Police interaction with non-offenders was also evaluated. Friedrich (1977) indicated that experienced officers tended to be more personable to those citizens who were not suspects or offenders than inexperienced officers. Experienced officers were shown to demonstrate sympathy and concern more easily than officers who have had less experience (Sherman, 1980). Experienced detectives were found to respond to victims and complaintants in such a way that had alleviated further stress and trauma (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990). These experienced detectives frequently shared their knowledge with victims and were able to provide them with helpful information (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990). Officers or detectives with experience are "able to bring to moral reflection the wisdom and realism of exposure to the complexities of situations and the pragmatism of their world" (Kleinig, 1990, p. 5).

The "rookie" officer has been found to be, at times, destructive towards citizens (Kleinig, 1990). As opposed to the well composed experienced officers, inexperienced

officers "may violate others' rights, endanger the rights of third parties, or engage in acts of moral compromise that will haunt and/or corrupt his/her subsequent career" (Kleinig, 1990, p. 5).

Research Questions Related to the Officers' Experience Level

The above mentioned "experienced police attributes" have not been investigated in terms of how they write police reports. It is curious that this profession, law enforcement and investigation, has not been thoroughly researched. In fact, little research exists concerning the investigative techniques of police officers. Police officers, both real and fictional, rely on intuition and experience to guide their success in solving criminal cases (Schultz, 1987). Because few crimes and situations ever repeat exactly, a resourcefulness in dealing with unique circumstances becomes a necessity to all police officers. The resourcefulness stems out of their ability to read people well, listen well, and communicate effectively (Morgan, 1990). Part of their communication entails the writing of police reports.

Based on the above information regarding experienced officers and inexperienced officers, the following research questions were framed:

RQ6) Are there differences in the language used by inexperienced police officers versus experienced police officers who write rape reports?

RQ7) Are there differences in the loaded topics used by inexperienced police officers versus experienced police officers who write rape reports?

In addition to the distinctions between the experience level of police officers, Kohn (1990), states that "someone will be more inclined to empathize with a person who is perceived as similar to him/herself" (p. 122). Thus, male and female police officers may react differently to female rape victims.

Gender Differences

According to Blair (1985), "the gender of the officer is not as important as the qualities he or she possesses. Both men and women can be motivated, sensitive, and understanding. The majority of rape victims express no preference concerning the sex of the investigating officers" (p. 67). Officers L and C, of the Gainesville Police Department (Personal Communication, May, 1991), also state that most rape victims do not have a preference regarding the gender of the police officer responding to the report. However, when the interview would include personal, graphic, and sexual information, the victims did prefer to speak to a female officer.

There has been no research which indicates that male and female police officers have either similar or dissimilar attitudes and views regarding rape and rape victims. However, female police officers do endure distinct types of

experiences than do male officers. Female officers feel that they are treated differently by the public as well as by suspects and criminals (Bloch & Anderson, 1984). For example, Parker, et. al., (1989) states that female officers lack female role models, are often blamed for that actions of other women, receive negative responses and comments from male officers, and are sometimes assumed to be lesbians.

Bloch and Anderson (1984) researched the patrol and arrest behaviors of male and female officers. Results of their study revealed that female officers made fewer misdemeanor and felony arrests than did their male counterparts. Bloch and Anderson (1984) also stated that female officers were less likely to initiate interaction with both citizens and suspects than male officers. Sherman (1975) and Sichel (1977) studies confirmed that female officers made fewer arrests than male officers. Only one study of New York City police indicated that there was no difference in the arrest patterns between male and female police officers (Melchionne, 1974).

Likewise, research in communication has found contradictory findings regarding the listening ability of males and females. Winter (1966), Lundstein (1963), and Sewell (1985) found females to be better listeners than males. Goldhaber and Weaver (1968), and Halley (1975), found males to be better listeners than females. Watson (1990) states that "while there is some support for a biologically

based explanation for gender differences in listening behavior, the primary differences seem to be linked to gender role socialization or a psychological perspective" (p. 14).

Research Questions Relating to the Gender of the Officer

These studies, however, do not indicate the differences in attitudes or report writing styles between male and female officers. There has also not been enough research to demonstrate that female officers have a more positive effect on emotionally upset victims than male officers. "All the studies are limited by the lack of experienced females to compare with experienced males" (Sherman, 1980, p. 74).

Based on the above information regarding male officers and female officers, the following research questions were framed:

RQ8) Are there differences in the language used by female police officers versus male police officers who write rape reports?

RQ9) Are there differences in the loaded topics used by female police officers versus male police officers who write rape reports?

Officers may be male, female, experienced or inexperienced, but another factor inclusive in the process of writing rape reports is the sequence in which they are written.

Initial Reports and Supplement Reports

The investigative interview and the taking of a report is the first occasion an officer has to communicate with a victim (Schultz, 1978). Interviewing is one form of communication used extensively by law enforcement (Ryals, 1991). Since it is the interview that "can have a significant impact on the case, if conducted improperly, the interview may be rendered worthless or can result in serious negative consequences for all involved" (Ryals, 1991, p. 6). The manner in which the police officer proceeds during the initial interview "requires much discretionary decision making" (Mills, 1989, p. 119). It is suggested that the initial interview of sexual battery and rape victims be conducted in a sensitive but professional manner, as well as when interviewing other types of crime victims (Mills, 1989; Ryals, 1991). The interview is important because it results in the writing of a police report. There are typically two reports written by two different officers for each rape case; the initial report and the supplement report. Both reports include demographic information as well as a narrative of the alleged incident of rape written by the reporting police officer.

The Initial Report

The initial interview and written report is typically conducted by a patrol officer (Albi, 1977). When a rape is reported to the police department, the communications

division or dispatch sends a patrol unit to the location of the rape victim. The patrol officer's procedure is to first question the alleged victim so that he/she is able to establish that a criminal offense was committed (Albi, 1977). If a rape or sexual assault did occur, the patrol officer provides the victim transportation to an emergency room or other medical facility for an examination. There are instances in which the rape had occurred days or weeks before the victims decided to report, in which case any physical evidence possibly collected through the medical examination would be lost (Grispano, 1990).

The initial report consists of a narrative based on information from the victim regarding the incident and her interactions with the offender, information from the medical personnel regarding results of the examination, a list of evidence collected, and any information gathered from witnesses. The initial reports are "notoriously the most incomplete in sexual assault matters" (Grispano, 1990, p. 15). The incompleteness may be due to the emotional state of the victim because the first contact with a victim is recorded in this initial report. It is during this initial interview that the patrol officer listens to and observes the attitude and emotional state of the victim (Yescke, 1987) and respectively relates this information to a detective who completes the second report; the supplement.

The Supplement Report

After the patrol officer has made contact with the victim, he/she requests the presence of a detective (Albi, 1977). The patrol officer may brief the detective concerning particulars of the case and present any insights or relevant information. The detective then conducts a follow-up report with the victim. The detective is also responsible for obtaining information regarding the incident of rape, results of the medical examination, and testimony from witnesses. The detective may also be responsible for conducting more follow-up visits and interviews with the victim at later dates (Wirtz & Harrell, 1987).

Although some of the first testimony in the initial report may be "erroneous" or "incomplete" the attitudinal and emotive state of the victim also directs the officer to conclude whether the victim has been truthful or deceitful. In some circumstances, as presented earlier, the victim has fabricated the criminal incident. This notion of the fabricated story is somewhat contraversial, especially when directed towards reported incidences of rape. One may be able to understand an individual committing arson or burglary in order to collect a generous insurance check, but it is more difficult to understand the benefit or rationale of creating a false incident of rape.

A police officer may have several reasons why he/she feels a rape victim has not been truthful. These reasons

include; the number of false reports or calls received by the police department, the demographic characteristics of alleged victims, results of a medical examination, and the comparison of behaviors between those victims who are displaying "truthful" behaviors versus those who are displaying "deceitful" behaviors.

There has been a presentation of the statistics of rape victims provided earlier in this paper. These statistics are gathered through Uniformed Crime Reports, data from the Bureau of the Census (1989), and the National Survey of Crime (1989). However, some data and statistics that are not reported are those cases of rape that do not proceed past the initial police interview. Statistics have shown that 2-3 percent of rape reports are unfounded, but these numbers stem from reports that become formally filed through a police report (Blackman, 1989). Reported rape incidents that are found to be fabricated, before a formal statement is taken or before a police report is written, are not recorded.

Research Questions Relating to the Types of Police Reports

Thus, the writing of two reports by two different police officers at differing times concerning the same victim and incident of rape warrants attention and investigation. The initial and supplement reports are written to collaborate information as well as present discrepancies between information provided by a victim.

Based on the above information regarding initial reports and supplement reports, the following research questions were framed:

RQ10) Are there differences in the language used in initial police reports of rape versus supplement police reports of rape?

RQ11) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in the police reports of rape?

RQ12) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in initial police reports of rape versus supplement police reports of rape?

The decision to take a report and proceed to write both initial and supplement reports may depend on the believability of the victim (Bell, 1992). Victim believability is based on many aspects of the rape incident as well as characteristics of the victim, such as her occupation.

Types of Victims and Their Occupations

The social class and status of a victim influences the way she is treated by police (Sherman, 1980; Friedrich, 1977; Lundman, 1974). Friedrich (1977) reported that police treat lower class people in a more negative manner than they treat people of higher social classes. Black (1979) stated that the police treatment of lower class and blue collar workers who were suspects was more harsh and abusive than treatment

of suspects who were of higher class and white collar workers.

Police officers treat victims differently if they have previous criminal records (Wikstrom, 1985). Victims who have been involved with criminal activity in the past were treated with less compassion and believed less than victims with no criminal history (Williams, 1981). Williams (1981) investigated the conviction rate of rape cases involving different types of victims. Results of her study indicated that the criminal history of the victim was a significant predictor in the outcome of the case. Williams (1981) stated "if these arrests were for prostitution, this would not be a surprising finding. However, we had no information on the type of prior arrest" (p. 36).

In Gainesville, Florida it was possible to obtain the social status and occupation of the rape victim and inquire as to her possible arrest record. Gainesville, being a college town, places high social status on being a student at either the University of Florida or at Santa Fe Community College. Social status is placed on the occupations centering around the schools, in addition to the small businesses and few corporations. Gainesville also has a lower class community which consists of blue collar workers, individuals in low income housing, drug dealers, and prostitutes.

Gainesville Police Department (Officers A, B, C, & G, Personal Communication, May, 1991) has indicated that the social status of the victim may be but is not definitely a factor to consider when determining if a rape victim is believable.

Fabricated Rape in Gainesville

In Gainesville, the percentage of fabricated rape reports is estimated to be 80-95 percent (Gainesville Police Officers L & C, May 1991). This surprising percentage warrants explanation, investigation, and a perspective that needs to contend with the possibility that only 5-20 percent of the rape calls are valid. Members of the Gainesville Police Department provided basically three rationales for the high percentage of fabricated reports of rape; the interaction between prostitution and crack, complicated intimate/romantic relationships, and situations including a third party.

Prostitution and crack. In order to effectively understand the culture of prostitutes and drug (crack) addicts, characteristics of their communication, backgrounds, and epidemiological data must be taken into account.

According to studies by McLeod (1985), Wallace (1990), Cristallo (1990), and Bellis (1990), common threads among street walking prostitutes include: an individualistic or egocentric view of the world, few goals or desires to get off the streets, isolation and disapproval from parents, family

members, and significant others, limited education, and distorted views of reality.

The covert and individualistic nature of prostitution make precise totals for the numbers of women engaged in this profession impossible to obtain. Many women involved in prostitution move between different locations and cities. Their level of involvement may also fluctuate (McLeod, 1985). Currently, Gainesville has between 60-75 street walking prostitutes (Gainesville Police Officer A, 1990, March). "For the most part, at least all the girls I run into are street walkers, they stick together to some extent, and are also addicted to crack" (Gainesville Police Officer D; Officer A, March 1990). The street walking prostitutes in Gainesville typically locate themselves on the East side of town, where communal crack houses and crack dealers are present. (Gainesville Police Officer S, March, 1990).

The United States is in a crack epidemic (Shapiro, 1989). Some forms of the popular media, Time, Newsweek, 20/20, and Sixty Minutes, have claimed that cocaine [crack and the classic version of cocaine] was the most popular and purchased drug of the 1980's (Rohrer, Handley, Riodan, Stock, and Thomas, 1987). Although cocaine was traditionally the choice drug of the rich, innovative cocaine producers developed a new form of cocaine that has stormed the people of the middle and lower incomes. The new form of cocaine is crack (Rohrer, et al., 1987).

The emergence of crack addicted individuals has affected the United States in great proportions. Over one million Americans are now dependent on crack (Rohrer, et al., 1987). It is reported that one out of every 100 people in the United States is a crack user, and one out of every 40 people in New York City uses crack (The New York Times, May 11, 1990).

Although the public may tend to think that crack use is a dangerous phenomenon occurring only in large cities, trafficking of crack is no longer confined to urban and metropolitan areas (Miami Herald, September 2, 1989). Drug dealers and crack addicts have infiltrated smaller southern cities, especially those in Florida (Miami Herald, July 6, 1989). Gainesville, Florida usually typified as a large college town has a significant crack problem. "I'd say there is [sic] a good 1500 people in town who live to do nothing but live to do crack cocaine and somehow acquire it" (GPD, Officer A, March 1990). Crack addicts "live for the day wondering where their next 'high' will come from...you know that's all they think about, the one [hit of crack] they just did, they already forgot the last one, it's the next one they're thinking about, their next bowl and how they are going to get it" (GPD, Officer A, March 1990).

The obsessive-compulsive need for drugs appears to greatly affect interpersonal communication between drug addicts and the people they come in contact with which may include: family members, significant others, or in the case

of prostitutes; prostitutes and their clients. "At first I really didn't understand how they [crack addicts] could treat each other that way...there is just so much violent behavior; domestic violence, spouse abuse, and girlfriend abuse" (Gainesville Police Officer A, March 1990).

The relevance of crack, prostitution, and physical abuse to reports of rape regard the "sex for crack exchange" (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991; Inciardi, Pottieger, Forney, Chitwood, & McBride, 1991). a major reason why false reports of rape are made. The use of crack is often associated with sexual behavior, most notably through sex for drug exchanges (Forney and Holloway, 1990; Inciardi, 1989). The cry of rape usually occurs when the exchange, sex for crack, is not completed, accepted, nor fulfilled. When an exchange is not completed between a prostitute and a client, one of two scenarios can occur. In one case, the prostitute may service her client and in turn the client does not produce the crack. The prostitute may then call the police, upset with the fact that she did not receive her payment, and report that she had been raped in hopes of getting her client in trouble (Gainesville Police Officers L & C, May 1991).

In another case, the client may first give the prostitute the crack and then the prostitute may revoke her side of the exchange and refuse to service the client. Thus, the client may force sexual intimacy with the prostitute.

Although this may be considered valid rape, a problem arises because the victim had consented to the exchange and the activities involved [crack use and prostitution] are both illegal. The police now have to deal with the prostitute being both an offender and an alleged victim (Gainesville Police Officers L & C, May 1991). The high percentages of invalid rape reports in Gainesville are said to primarily stem from either of the above stated scenerios.

Smaller percentages of prostitutes calling the police department to report a rape have been found to do so because of the medical exam that is provided (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991). As long as the alleged victim is brought to an emergency room for the "rape exam" by a police officer all medical treatment is paid for; thus the women are able to get checked and treated for sexually transmitted diseases as well as obtaining birth control (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991).

Considering that the majority of alleged rape victims who are thought to be deceitful are crack addicted prostitutes, many of these described behaviors may also be a result of drug use and abuse rather than deception. Thus other descriptors are needed to define and describe deceptive behaviors.

Code Switching. In order to detect deception in the various cues by alleged rape victims, police officers may need to adapt their communication and behavior to the persons

they are questioning. One adaptation in which police officers employ to communicate with some alleged rape victims is the use of code switching or foreigner talk.

When native speakers of a particular language and culture address foreigners, they modify their normal speech patterns (word choice, rate, volume) in order to facilitate understanding and their role in relation to the foreigner (Ellis, 1986). Apparent in Gainesville and in most every town and city in this country is some form of dialect that differs from General American Speech. The dialect or "street talk" that exists in Gainesville is termed; "talkin' street," "street talk," or "shuck-n-jive" (Gainesville Police Officer A, March 1990).

When a police officer interacts with an individual who speaks in street talk, the officer will try to adapt his/her language to use routines of street talk in order to facilitate the questioning process (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991). Difficulty in comprehension arises in the strings of words or routines. Routines are one type of formulaic speech. They are units of speech that are totally unanalyzed and are usually learned as wholes. A common routine in General American Speech is "I don't know" (Ellis, 1986). A common routine in Gainesville street talk is "that ain't none of me" [I did not do anything wrong] (Gainesville Police Officer A, March 1990).

Common routines used when questioning an alleged rape victim in Gainesville are; "Have you been gettin' slammed?" [Did you have intercourse with anyone?] "Who be slamming you?" [Who forced you to have intercourse?] "You be having chicken neck?" [Were you forced to have oral sex?] (Gainesville Police Officer A, March 1990; Officer L, May 1991).

Complicated romantic/intimate relationships. Although the majority of fabricated rape reports may be from crack addicted prostitutes, other invalid reports are from those who are involved in some type of complicated intimate or romantic relationship (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991). "Many women report a rape because they have to explain, or try to explain to their boyfriends or husbands how they got VD [venereal disease]...or they got caught in bed with someone they weren't supposed to be with...one way or another rape becomes a way to explain their sexual involvement with somebody else,...it's amazing what stories we hear" (Gainesville Police Officer L, May 1991).

The complicated relationship is sometimes revealed in interviews with students from either the University or the Community College. One instance was revealed through the information provided in a Gainesville police report of rape which was not used in this study. The report divulged the following information:

A college student was brought to the police station by her boyfriend to report an incidence of sexual

battery which had occurred previously one week ago. The victim had a lunch date with a fellow student (the suspect) at his apartment. During their lunch date they participated in watching pornographic movies which led to their sexual involvement. The victim indicated that she had consented to the sexual relations but was not sure she did the right thing. The following evening the victim and the suspect had another date in which they went to the movies and to have dinner. A week later the victim's boyfriend asked her if she had any secrets she wanted to tell him. The victim told her boyfriend about her dates and the sexual encounter with her fellow student. Upon disclosing this information to her boyfriend, the victim was brought to the police station.

Presence of a third party. According to the Gainesville Police Department there have been some reported incidences of rape due to the intervention of a third party. For example, Officer L (May 1991) described a case illustrating this point, "a nurse and a patient at one of our local hospitals were in bed together when the nursing supervisor walked in...in order to justify her unprofessional behavior, the nurse cried rape and filled out a sexual battery complaint just so she could keep her job...the complaint was soon withdrawn."

This example parallels one provided by Alexander (1984) in Karmen (1990) in which a female police officer charges that she was raped by a man she had met in a laundry mat and then invited into her house. Days later she changed her story and stated that she was really raped by a colleague, a fellow police officer. The female officer did not originally want to report a rape against a co-worker because of fear of retaliation.

Research Questions Relating to the Type of Victim

Based on the above literature regarding the unfounded rape victim, and the occupations of the victims, the following research questions were asked:

RQ13) Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim (i.e., student, prostitute, other)?

RQ14) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim?

Summary

Kerstetter and Van Winkle (1990), conducted interviews with both rape victims and detectives. Results of their study indicated that, "the detective interviews suggest that at times their moral judgments regarding the incident and the interests of the victim influence the victim. These moral judgments take cognizance of the behavior of both parties" (Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990, p. 280). However, the thrust of their research study revolved around the administrative attitudes and influences of the police department rather than their personal attitudes. The use of police reports as data for analysis also provides emphasis on the personal attitudes of the individual police officers.

It is important to investigate the police perspective from one department Hunter (1990) because of "the large number of agencies and the regional diversity found within

the United States, no two police agencies are exactly alike" (Hunter, 1990, p. 119). The use of police reports utilized actual language used by police in real situations. The police reports also provided a free narrative from which the language of the officers was analyzed. Using narratives as data to explore the police perspective was recommended because "it was generally found that testimony obtained by specific questioning contained between 25 to 33 percent more error than testimony obtained by using free narratives" (Marquis, Marshall, & Oskamp, 1972).

Limitations to Previous Research

Several factors have limited previous research relevant to the interaction between police officers and victims. In particular, the attitudes of police officers regarding victims of rape has not been explored in depth from the police perspective. Research on attitudes and communication was conducted using methods of content analysis of loaded words, the diversity of language, and loaded topics. However, the use of content analysis of loaded language has not been applied to the fields of criminology nor victimology.

Mastrofski and Parks (1991) have advocated the need to know and explore attitudes in police work. Most of the research relevant to police work has been done through survey gathered data (Stenross & Kleinman, 1990). Few studies have incorporated the methods of indepth interviews, participant

observation, self reports, or the use of police reports as narratives. There is a need to expand research techniques in qualitative and quantitative analyses, and specifically to use actual police communication as the unit of analysis (Mastrofski & Parks, 1991; Muir, 1977; Sykes & Brent, 1983).

There has been comprehensive research regarding the attitudes and perspectives of the rape victim. Research conducted concerning the role of the rape victim, the perceptions of rape victims, the societal view of rape, and how rape victims feel re victimized by the criminal justice system is extensive. However, the same has not been reciprocated from the police perspective.

There has been no published research regarding the gender differences of police officers and their perceptions of rape and rape victims. In particular, there has been no research which has included the experienced female officer (Sherman, 1980; Bloch & Anderson, 1984). There has been limited research regarding the experience levels of police officers and their perceptions of rape and rape victims. Stenross and Kleinman (1990) conducted interviews with detectives, but did not compare the detectives' responses to those of uniformed patrol officers or those with less experience.

The lack of information about experienced police officers has also inhibited related areas of research. No research study has attempted to operationalize police

intuition as it relates to their experience level or the communication skills of experienced officers for the benefit of rookies or police training. In particular, the specialized interviewing techniques designed for the use with victims, such as cognitive interviewing, do not take into account the situational and organizational components of police work. Techniques like cognitive interviewing ignore the personal factors of individual police officers which may contribute to more successful information gathering. Such techniques also fail to take into account that the actual job and responsibility of police officers does not include therapy or counseling. Police officers are trained investigators and information gatherers. Their training nor their job description prepare them to be psychologists, psychiatrists, rape counselors, or advocates. Police are trained to collect evidence, testimony, and clues and to observe the circumstances they are placed in. Experienced officers have a tendency to develop and exhibit excellent observational skills, and a knowledge or "sixth sense" about people, places, and situations (Mastrofski & Parks, 1991).

One of those situations may include the determination of an unfounded or fabricated rape case. There has been little research regarding detecting deception in police work. The research and literature that is available concentrates on the verbal and nonverbal behaviors demonstrated by deceptive

offenders and suspects, as well as the use of polygraph tests. There is no published research about the "alleged rape victim" and how deception is detected in those situations. In fact, there is little information about cases of fabricated rape reports. Information that exists reports the phenomenon of false rape claims are rare, occurring only two to three percent of the time (Black, 1989). However, based on personal communication with police departments in different geographic locations in the United States, the Gainesville Police Department, the Kearny Police Department (Kearny, New Jersey), and the Sharonville Police Department (Sharonville, Ohio), police officers state that the majority of rape calls they receive are unfounded due to fabrication.

In order to enhance the limited number of studies regarding police interaction with rape victims, and to investigate the attitudes of police officers as they interview rape victims and write police reports, and analysis of the Gainesville Police Department's police reports of rape was conducted. An exploration into the personal attitudes of the officers as they reflect the type of rape reported (stranger versus acquaintance), the victim's race (black versus white), and the victim's occupation (student versus prostitute versus other), as well as the officer's gender (male versus female), the officer's level of experience (experienced versus inexperienced), and the type of report that was recorded (initial versus supplement). Personal

attitudes of the police officers were revealed through the language used in the police reports by a content analysis of loaded words, diverse words, and loaded topics.

CHAPTER 5 METHODOLOGY

Review of Research Questions

This study was designed to explore and analyze the language used in police reports of rape written by officers of the Gainesville Police Department. Based on the literature review and the limitations found in previous studies, several research questions were considered. Research questions from the literature review are again as follows:

RQ1) What are the statistics in Gainesville regarding the different types of rape reported (i.e., stranger, acquaintance, date, gang, and domestic)?

RQ2) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?

RQ3) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?

RQ4) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?

RQ5) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?

RQ6) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used by inexperienced police officers versus experienced police officers who write rape reports?

RQ7) Are there differences in the loaded topics used by inexperienced police officers versus experienced police officers who write rape reports?

RQ8) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used by female police officers versus male police officers who write rape reports?

RQ9) Are there differences in the loaded topics used by female police officers versus male police officers who write rape reports?

RQ10) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used in initial police reports versus supplement police reports of rape?

RQ11) Are there differences in the categories of loaded topics used in the police reports of rape?

RQ12) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in initial police reports versus supplement police reports of rape?

RQ13) Are there differences in the language (loaded words and diverse words) used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim (i.e., student victims, prostitute victims, and other victims)?

RQ14) Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim?

Research Design

Sample

A random sample of 60 police reports (30 cases) of rape (sexual battery) was obtained through the records department of the Gainesville Police Department. Each rape case contains two police reports with corresponding narratives: the initial report written by the officer who first responds to the rape call, and the supplement report written by a detective who responds to a call by request of the first responding officer. The initial reports are typically recorded by patrol officers, who may or may not have had previous experience or training interviewing rape victims, and/or writing the narrative part of the report. The supplement reports are recorded by detectives who have had previous experience and/or training interviewing rape victims.

Typically, notes are taken during the actual interview with the victim. The notes as well as information from the officer's memory are combined into a narrative form. The narratives are written accounts of the incident of rape from the police officer's perspective. The narrative is written in chronological "story-telling" form, as the officers recall

information provided by the victim, a suspect, the medical personnel, and/or any witnesses. The narratives may also include police officers' observations regarding how a victim interacted with them during the course of the interview as well as how a victim interacted with the medical personnel, rape advocacy workers, and/or any witnesses. The police reports also include demographic information regarding the alleged rape victim (her race, occupation, victim's relation to the alleged offender).

Independent Variables

The demographic information about the victim regarding her race, occupation, and relation to her assailant, as well as the type of report written by the officer (initial or supplement), the officers' gender and experience level were designated as the independent variables.

Types of Police Reports

Types of reports were stratified into two categories (initial and supplement). Although the initial reports are typically written by inexperienced officers, some are written by those with experience. This variable is time dependent; the initial report is written by the first officer who has contact with the victim and the supplement is a follow-up report taken usually hours after the initial report is taken. This sample contained 30 initial reports and 30 supplement reports (n = 60).

The 30 initial reports were written by 30 different officers and the 30 corresponding supplement reports were written by twelve different officers. In order to insure that the results were not skewed by the repetitive writing of the twelve detectives writing more than one report, a follow-up test was conducted isolating the twelve different detectives and selecting twelve initial reports for comparison. The twelve detectives who wrote the supplement reports divided equally including six females and six males. Thus, when selecting twelve initial reports, six experienced females and six experienced males were selected to control for both experience level and gender. The break down of the follow-up test design is displayed below. See Figure 1.

Police Officers

By design the variables were stratified by gender (male/female) and level of experience (experienced/inexperienced).

Gender. The gender and name of the officer or detective are recorded on the police reports. Thus, the gender of the officer was easily obtained. This sample contained an uneven distribution of male and female officers regarding the initial reports and an even distribution of male and female officers regarding the supplement reports. For the purposes of this study, only the supplement reports. For the purposes

Figure 1

Follow-up Test to Control for Gender and Experience Level of
the Police Officers and Detectives

Initial Reports versus Supplement Reports
(n = 60)

30 Initial Reports (30 Different Officers)	30 Supplement Reports (12 Different Detectives)
---	--

21 Male Officer Reports 9 Female Officer Reports	15 Male Detective Reports 15 Female Detective Reports
---	--

15 Experienced Reports 15 Inexperienced Reports	All 30 Detective Reports are considered experienced
--	--

Follow-up Tests

Selected:
6 Male Experienced
6 Female Experienced

(n = 12)

Selected:
6 Male Detectives
6 Female Detectives

(n = 12)

of this study, only the supplement reports were used with regard to gender. The reports of fifteen male detectives and fifteen female detectives were used ($n = 30$). The supplement reports were chosen because they contained an even distribution as well as enabled the researcher to control for experience level.

Level of experience. Although experience level is not recorded on the actual police reports, the names of the officers or detectives provided the needed information to determine whether they are experienced or inexperienced.

Experience was based upon how much exposure, training, and expertise the officers have regarding interacting with and interviewing rape victims. Experienced officers included those who are members of the "informal" Sex Crime Unit (this is a female unit or group of female officers who typically respond to rape calls and have been specially trained in responses to rape victims) or those who have had at least 5 years experience interviewing rape victims and those who have had a training course concerning the interviewing process with rape victims. All supplement reports are written by detectives who are considered to be experienced. This sample contained an even distribution of fifteen experienced and fifteen inexperienced officers regarding the initial reports ($n = 30$).

Victims

By design the variables were stratified by race, victim's relation to the offender or type of rape, and the occupation of the victim.

Race. The race of the victim is recorded on the police reports. Thus, the race of the victim was easily obtained. This sample contained an even distribution of cases of fifteen black victims and fifteen white victims. Since two reports are filed for each case all initial and supplement reports were used in the analysis ($n = 60$).

Relation to the Offender. The victim's relation to her offender was stratified into two categories (stranger or rapes and acquaintance rapes). This information was obtained from the demographic portion of the police reports. A section of the report is designated so the officer can check one of the following; stranger, relative, acquaintance, or other. This sample contained an uneven distribution regarding the relation of the offender to the victim. Seven cases or ($n = 14$) of stranger rape and seven cases of acquaintance rape or ($n = 14$) were used for the analysis for a total of ($n = 28$).

Occupation. Types of victims were stratified into three sub-categories (prostitutes, students of University of Florida or Santa Fe Community College, and others). These categories have been established from the information provided in the demographic section of the police reports or

through the victims' testimonies. They have admitted and recognized themselves as well as referred to themselves as either "prostitutes" or "students" in the police reports. The "other" category are those individuals who are classified as not being a student nor a prostitute. This sample contained an uneven distribution regarding the victims' occupations. Six cases or ($n = 12$) of student victims, six cases or ($n = 12$) of prostitute victims, and six cases or ($n = 12$) of other victims, for a total of ($n = 36$).

A review of the break down of the independent variables as they correspond to the order of the research questions is as follows:

- 1) Types of Rape; Total ($n = 28$)
 - 7 Cases--Stranger Rape ($n = 14$)
 - 7 Cases--Acquaintance Rape ($n = 14$)
- 2) Race of the Victim; Total ($n = 60$)
 - 15 Cases--Black Victims ($n = 30$)
 - 15 Cases--White Victims ($n = 30$)
- 3) Experience Level of the Officer; Total ($n = 30$)
 - Initial Reports Only--Experienced Officers ($n = 15$)
 - Inexperienced Officers ($n = 15$)
- 4) Gender of the Officer; Total ($n = 30$)
 - Supplement Reports Only--Male Detectives ($n = 15$)
 - Female Detectives ($n = 15$)
- 5) Type of Report; Total ($n = 60$)
 - Initial Reports ($n = 30$)

Supplement Reports (n =15) and follow-up tests,

Initial Reports (n = 12)

Supplement Reports (n = 12)

6) Victim's Occupation; Total (n = 36)

6 Cases--Student Victims (n = 12)

6 Cases--Prostitute Victims (n = 12)

6 Cases--Other Victims (n = 12)

The dependent variables were based on the content analyses of the language used in the narrative portion of the Gainesville Police Reports.

Content Analyses: The Dependent Variables

In order to answer the research questions, three measures of content analyses were utilized. The sixty police narratives were analyzed using three procedures:

1) A content analysis of loaded language was conducted with the dependent variables designated as positive loaded words, negative loaded words, and the overall use of loaded words.

2) An analysis of the diversity of language was conducted using type-token ratios. The dependent variables included diverse words and repeated words.

3) A content analysis of loaded topics was conducted with the dependent variables designated as; Police-Victim, Police-Authority, Police-Offender, Police-Witness, Victim-Offender, Victim-Medical Personnel, Victim-Witness, or Evidence/Extra within the police narratives.

Procedure One: A Content Analysis of Loaded Words

In order to use the police report narratives, the following five adaptations were made to prepare the text for analyses.

1) The first step was to type the contents of the police reports, both initial and supplement, as a MacIntosh MS Word 4.0 document. The entire text of each police narrative was transcribed using the Procedures section of Markel's (1990) A Paralinguistic Research Manual. The essential features of the transcription conventions are: all punctuation are deleted, capital letters are changed to small case letters, first and last names of persons are combined (Terry Gudaitis became terrygudaitis), contractions are written out (don't became do not), numbers are written out in words and combined (26 became twentysix), and names of places are combined (New York became newyork).

Due to the confidential nature of this data, the names of all rape victims were changed to "VNAME", the names of the offenders were changed to "ONAME", and the names of the police officers were changed to "PNAME". These changes, however, in no way distort or interrupt the content analyses procedures.

2) The text was then labeled according to file names designating: Report 1; initial; Report 1; supplement; Report 2; initial, Report 2; supplement, and so on for report numbers three through thirty.

3) The text was then entered as "text only" into a computer using a MacIntosh program called WordScan. The "text only" document does not contain the file names so that only the police reports text was recorded.

4) WordScan then counted the total number of words in the text and the number of unique or different words (diversity in language) in the text. These numbers were recorded which was later necessary for the second method of content analysis, the type-token ratio (TTR).

5) Using WordScan, the function "Write Dictionary" was used on the "text only" document. This function created an alphabetized list of every word which appeared in reports one through sixty. Three copies of the alphabetized list were produced.

Steps for Coding Loaded Words. There was a two-step coding process used on the text. Three coders were used for both steps. The first step was to identify "loaded" words on the alphabetized list and the second step was to evaluate "loaded" words in the context of the police narratives giving them a valence of positive, negative, or neutral.

Step 1: Three coders who were not informed about the nature of this research were given the following instructions with regard to the alphabetized list of words. "Please read each word and determine if it is a positive word, a negative word, or a neutral word. A positive word contains a possible favorable or pleasant connotation, a negative word contains a

possible unfavorable or unpleasant connotation, and neutral word is without a positive or negative connotation. Place a "+" next to the positive words, a "-" next to the negative words, and a "0" next to the neutral words." See Appendix A for an example of this coding step.

The three coded lists were then compared to determine which words were going to be considered "loaded." A "loaded" word is either a positive word or a negative word, thus "loaded" can be defined as any word with an emotional or emotive connotation (positive or negative). A word from the alphabetized list was identified and labelled as "loaded" only if all three coders agreed, placing either a "+" or "-" next to the word. Any word given a "0" by any or all of the three coders was discarded as being "loaded". Because all three coders had to agree that the word was "loaded", the reliability for this coding step is 100 percent.

Reliability

Reliability was tabulated in this manner for several reasons. The 100 percent agreement between coders indicates that the results are more easily interpreted and used by anyone. The loaded words that coders agreed upon have a 100 percent probability that if another person coded he/she would code those words in the same manner. By only using those words that coders agreed upon 100 percent of the time eliminated disagreements and discrepancies. Setting a lower percentage of agreement, for example 80 percent, would have

included data which were ambiguous. Thus, the researcher selected a more conservative and consistent standard of agreement between coders. One hundred percent agreement between coders was utilized for all steps and procedures of coding.

The words that were labelled as "loaded" (100 percent agreement) were then identified in text. The text of the police reports was retrieved from the "text only" file in WordScan. Using the "Find" function, all "loaded" words were then found. Placed next to each "loaded" word was a bracket with valence symbols (victim [+ - 0]). Three copies of this text were produced. See Appendix B for an example of this coding step.

Step 2: Three trained coders who were familiar with the narratives were each given a copy of the text document with the identified "loaded" words with brackets and valence symbols. These coders were given the following instructions: "Please read each identified word (i.e., words followed by [+ - 0]) and determine by the context whether the word is emotively positive (a favorable or pleasant connotation), emotively negative (an unfavorable or unpleasant connotation), or neutral (without a positive or negative connotation). Circle the corresponding sign." The "loaded" words were then given a valence depending on their use in context by the coders.

The coded documents were then compared and only those "loaded" words that were given the same positive or negative valence coding by all three coders were labelled as positive or negative emotive words, respectively. For example the word "victim" was given the valence of negative by all three coders. The word "good" was given the valence of positive by all three coders. The word "doctor" was given the valence of positive by all three coders but only in certain contexts. Thus, each identified loaded word was treated individually depending on how it was used in the document. Because only those words which were designated by all three coders to be either emotively positive or negative were labelled; any neutral valence ratings or mismatched valence ratings, ++-, were not counted.

The words which were designated a positive or negative valence by all three coders (100 percent agreement) were recorded by making a copy of the "text only" document (this document has the loaded words identified in brackets and symbols). The original brackets which offered a valence choice [+ - 0] were reduced or deleted. The positive words, agreed by all three coders, were given [+], the negative words were given [-], and all other remaining brackets were deleted. The document then only showed those words in context that were considered to be positive or negative. See Appendix C for an example of this coding step.

The positive words were counted by using the "Change" function from MS Word. The computer counted each [+] and the number of positive words from each report was recorded. The computer counted each [-] and number of negative words from each report was recorded.

In addition to the two-step content analysis of loaded language, a content analysis of the diversity of language was conducted.

Procedure Two: Content Analysis of the Diversity of Language

The type-token ratio is a psycholinguistic method of content analysis designed to interpret and better provide an understanding of documented information. The type-token ratio is based on a formula which counts the number of words in a sample of speech and applies a ratio factor to indicate the number of repeated words in a sample. For example, in the sentence; The boy kicked a ball, the TTR would be 5/5, the number of diverse or unique words (5) over the number of total words (5). In the sentence; The boy kicked the ball, the TTR would be 4/5.

A total word count of each police report narrative as well as the number of diverse and repeated words was obtained and recorded earlier through the WordScan procedure one (step four). These numbers were divided, number of diverse words over the total number of words for each narrative to conduct a type-token ratio.

In addition to the two-step content analysis of loaded language and the content analysis of the diversity of language as measured by the type-token ratio, a content analysis of loaded topics was conducted.

Procedure Three: Content Analysis of Loaded Topics

Categories of topics were determined by the researcher. Eight categories of topics were defined based on the information contained within the police narratives. The information in the narratives reflected the interactions between persons involved in the rape incident, evidence found through the investigation, and descriptive commentary regarding the location of the crime scene, times, dates, and places relevant to the alleged crime.

Interactions occurred between police officers, victims, offenders (or suspects), medical personnel, rape victim advocates, and/or witnesses. Thus, the first seven categories of topics were designed to include combinations of these interactions between involved persons. The eighth category was designed to include non-interactional information such as collected evidence or other information that does not fit into the first seven categories. The eight defined topics were: Police-Victim, Police-Authority, Police-Offender, Police-Witness, Victim-Medical, Victim-Offender, Victim-Witness, and Evidence-Extra. These topics were designed to be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Each category was selected and deemed important because each

interaction defined by the category written in the police narrative may have a significant affect on the potential of the reporting victim's case. Definitions and examples for each topic are provided below for clarification. These definitions and examples were used to train coders to identify possible loaded topics. "Loadedness" of a topic was determined by the agreement between coders and the content analysis.

Police with Victim. "Police with Victim" or PV was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to an interaction between a police officer and a victim. Interactions took the forms of verbal statements and/or nonverbal behaviors. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"Victim told me she had been the victim of a rape," "Victim was cooperative as I accompanied her to emergency room," "Victim had difficulty speaking to me due to intoxication, so I asked her questions that could be answered with a headnod," and "I was flagged down by above named victim while on patrol in the area."

This category is important to consider because the interaction perceived between the reporting officer and the victim is crucial to the case. Bell (1992) identified this loaded category as one of the most occurring in the police reports, as well as the police-victim interaction lending credibility or non-credibility to the victim's case.

Police with Offender. "Police with Offender" or PO was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction

between a police officer and an offender, a suspect, an alleged suspect, or a perpetrator. Interactions between an officer and more than one offender or suspect were also considered. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"This officer chased offenders to abandoned house," "Suspect was asked where he was during the alleged incident," "Suspect told me that he did not know where the knife came from," and "The perpetrator knocked me down like a football linebacker during the pursuit."

This category is important because it reflects the behavior of an alleged suspect or offender with a police officer. A suspect fleeing, resisting arrest, or confessing may have a direct affect on the closing or outcome of a rape case.

Police with Authority. "Police with Authority" or PA was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction with another person or persons of authority. Persons of authority were designated to be other police officers, medical personnel, rape victim advocates, and attorneys. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"The nurse indicated to me that the victim's exam showed indications of penetration," "Doctor advised that all victim's tests have been completed and she was ready for release," "I called rape victim advocate for assistance," "This detective was notified by communications officer that a sexual battery had taken place," and "I pursued case and brought it to the attention of the assistant stateattorney via a phone conversation."

This category is important for three reasons. The interaction an officer has with other persons of authority may likewise influence a rape case. When an officer interacts with another officer, he/she may be indicating the need for back-up due to the traumatized state of the victim or to pursue a suspect, or in some cases to arrest the victim on non-related charges. Police officer interaction with medical personnel is crucial because these are the people who turn over physical evidence to the officer, as well as report the overall state and condition of the victim. Police interaction with a rape victims advocate is demonstrative, in most cases, that the victim needs emotional support and is assumed to be a "real" victim.

Police with Witness. "Police with Witness" or PW was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction between a police officer and a witness or witnesses other than the victim and the offender. Persons were considered to be witnesses if they were present during the alleged incident or if they had information that contributed relevance to the case. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"This detective questioned him as he was present in the house during the alleged attack," "She offered me information advising that she was with the alleged victim during the time the incident was said to have occurred," "Communications officer received a phone call from above witness who reported the sexual battery initially," and "He told me that victim had previously propositioned him also."

This category is important because the police officers may accumulate additional information from witnesses that would not have been collected otherwise.

Although these narratives were written by police officers, thus all interactions were actually between the police officer and a victim, person of authority, an offender, and/or a witness, the narratives did contain information that related directly to the interaction between a victim and someone other than a police officer.

Victim with Offender. "Victim with Offender" or VO was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction between a victim and an offender, a suspect, an alleged suspect, or a perpetrator. Interactions between a victim and more than one offender or suspect were also considered.

Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"Victim kicked and screamed as offender tried to rip open her blouse," "Victim was with him to party and have a good time," "She ran from her attackers," "Offender told her to shut up and not to look at him," "Suspect forced her to have sexual intercourse at gunpoint," and "The suspect held victim down with his forearm across her neck as she cried."

This category, like Police-Victim, is stated by Bell (1992) to be one that reflects the majority of the text in the police reports. This category is extremely important because it is here that the officer relays the victim's account of the interaction between herself and the offender.

This information from the police report may be presented in court as documentary evidence.

Victim with Medical Personnel. "Victim with Medical Personnel" or VM was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction between a victim and a medical person or persons. Medical personnel were designated to be doctors, nurses, rape victim advocates, and emergency room or ambulance workers. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"Victim was verbally abusive to doctor, shouting and cursing," "She did not cooperate with the nurse, thus the hospital released her," "Rape advocate interviewed traumatized victim," "Victim telephoned her family physician and scheduled an exam," "She screamed at emergency room doctor, 'I don't need your fucking test'," and "Doctor asked her questions about the incident of which she answered completely."

This category is important because it reflects the interaction between the victim and the medical personnel who perform the examination which is crucial to the collection of evidence. It is essential that the victim is cooperative with the examiners in order for all physical evidence to be collected successfully.

Victim with Witness. "Victim with Witness" or VW was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to a verbal or non-verbal interaction between a victim and a witness or witnesses other than the offender. Persons were considered to be witnesses if they were present during the alleged incident or if they had

information that contributed relevance to the case. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"She helped victim to the hospital after the incident of sexual battery," "He was in the house and heard her screams before she asked him for assistance," "He walked her to a pay phone where he said he would call for help," "Her neighbor was the victim's first contact after the assault," and "Victim called her and told her that her father had sexually molested her."

This category is important because a victim's interaction with a witness may lend to the credibility of the victim by demonstrating the collaboration of the rape incident, or by debunking the victim's account.

Evidence/Extra Information. "Evidence/Extra Information" or EX was defined as any loaded word that was used in the police narratives referring to an interaction that did not fall within the above defined loaded topics. This loaded topic included interaction with inanimate objects, such as evidence, references to forms and other documents attached to the police report, or references to times, dates, and locations. Examples of loaded topics in this category included:

"This officer returned to the scene of the crime to search for physical evidence," "Victim switched on the lights," "This detective placed completed rape kit in the evidence locker," "The dirty blue car was located but empty," "Officer closed case due to lack of evidence," and "Complaint withdrawal sheet was attached to case number."

This category is important because the documentation of collected evidence must be done in order for a case to be successfully prosecuted. The police officer must indicate

that the collection of physical evidence, documentary evidence, and testimonies were handled correctly. The reporting of inanimate objects in a crime scene may also lend credibility and circumstantial evidence to a rape case.

In order to identify and code these topics within the text of the police narratives, it was necessary to return to the narratives as they were in Appendix C; labeled as loaded words in context with a designated valence (e.g., [+] or [-]). The "Change" function from MS Word was used to change each [+] or [-] to a bracket with a lined-space [_____].

In the lined-space, the three trained coders were then asked to identify the topic that corresponded to the already determined loaded word. The coders were given a copy of the eight topics and the following instructions: "Please read each identified word (i.e., words followed with a [_____]) and determine by the context, hence the interaction between the persons, whether the word refers to the interaction between a police officer and a victim [__PV__], between a police officer and another person of authority [__PA__], between a police officer and an offender [__PO__], between a police officer and a witness [__PW__], between a victim and an offender [__VO__], between a victim and a medical person [__VM__], between a victim and a witness [__VW__], or whether the information does not fit into any of the above categories [__EX__]."

The coded documents were then compared and only those topics that were given the same topic coding by all three coders received a topic label. Each identified loaded word was treated individually depending on how it was used in the the context of the narrative. Only those topics which were designated by all three coders to be either PV, PA, PO, PW, VO, VM, VW, or EX, respective to the context were counted as loaded topics and used in the statistical analysis.

When the three coders did not agree as to the topic associated with a loaded word, the topic was assigned a "discarded" symbol or DS. Approximately 3.4 percent of the coded loaded words across sixty narratives were discarded and not used in the statistical analysis. Examples of topics which were not agreed upon by all three coders include: "I (referring to the officer) adamantly called her in to the office"--coders were not sure who "her" referred to, and "I stopped a similar vehicle at waldo road but that suspect was released"--coders did not agree whether this "suspect" should be coded because it was not the actual suspect.

Those loaded words for which all three coders agreed as to the topic were designated as a loaded topic and were recorded by making a copy of the "text only" document. This document contained the loaded words identified in brackets and valence symbols. The symbols representing the loaded topics were added to the document containing the narratives which showed a valence symbol in brackets (i.e., [+] or

[-]) next to loaded words (e.g., the victim [-] [VO] screamed [-] [VO] at her attacker [-] [VO]); VO indicating the loaded topic assigned by the three coders.

The document then only showed those words in context that were considered to be loaded positive or negative with their corresponding loaded topic symbol. Some loaded words in the document did not contain a corresponding loaded topic symbol because they fell within the 3.4 percent of discarded or disagreed upon loaded words. However, those loaded words remained in the document and did not drop out of the analysis. See Appendix D for an example of this coding step.

The loaded topics were counted by using the "Change" function from MS Word. The computer counted each bracket and coding symbol (i.e., [PV], [VO]) and thus the number of each of the loaded topics from every police narrative was recorded. The computer then counted each loaded word designated by a bracket and valence symbol along with its corresponding loaded topic (i.e., [-] [PV], or [+] [PV]). The number of positive words and their corresponding loaded topics and the number of negative words and their corresponding loaded topics from each police narrative was recorded.

A review of the coding procedures which identified the dependent variables is as follows:

- 1) Loaded Words were coded as; Positive or Negative,

2) Diverse Words were counted and a Type-Token Ratio was established (TTR), and

3) Loaded Topics were coded as;

Police with Victim--PV

Police with Offender--PO

Police with Authority--PA

Police with Witness--PW

Victim with Offender--VO

Victim with Medical Personnel--VM

Victim with Witness--VW

Evidence/Extra--EX.

As a final result of all the coding procedures and tabulations, raw numbers were recorded for each police narrative. The raw numbers included the following seven steps:

- 1) The number of positive loaded words per narrative.
- 2) The number of negative loaded words per narrative.
- 3) The total number of loaded words per narrative.
- 4) The total number of words per narrative.
- 5) The total number of diverse words per narrative.
- 6) The total number of each category of loaded topic per narrative, not considering the loading valence.

- 7) The total number of each category of loaded topic and corresponding negative or positive valence per narrative.

These raw numbers were then converted into percentages to account for the differing lengths of the police narratives. Percentages were calculated for each of the sixty narratives in the following forms:

- 1) Total loaded words/total words = TLW/TW ,
- 2) Positive loaded words/total words = PLW/TW ,
- 3) Negative loaded words/total words = NLW/TW ,
- 4) Positive loaded words/total loaded words = PLW/TLW ,
- 5) Negative loaded words/total loaded words = NLW/TLW ,
- 6) Loaded topics/total loaded words = LT/TLW ; PV/TLW , PO/TLW , PA/TLW , PW/TLW , VO/TLW , VM/TLW , VW/TLW , and EX/TLW ,
- 7) Positive loaded words with their corresponding loaded topics/total loaded words = $PV+/TLW$, $PO+/TLW$, $PA+/TLW$, $PW+/TLW$, $VO+/TLW$, $VM+/TLW$, $VW+/TLW$, and $EX+/TLW$,
- 8) Negative loaded words with their corresponding loaded topics/total loaded words = $PV-/TLW$, $PO-/TLW$, $PA-/TLW$, $PW-/TLW$, $VO-/TLW$, $VM-/TLW$, $VW-/TLW$, and $EX-/TLW$, and

- 9) The value for the type-token ratio was obtained by dividing the raw numbers (number of diverse words over the total number of words).

These percentages obtained from each of the sixty police narratives were then entered into the computer using the MacIntosh program StatView.

Statistical Design

Three statistical designs were used in conjunction with the content analyses of loaded language (dependent variables; positive words, negative words, and overall use of loaded words), the diversity of language (dependent variables; diverse words and repeated words), and loaded topics. One of the following statistical analyses was conducted based on the numerical stratification of the independent variables: The Mann-Whitney U test, the Kruskal-Wallis test, or the Friedman test.

Mann-Whitney U

The Mann-Whitney U test is a non-parametric test which is an alternative version of the parametric t-test for two groups (Siegel & Castellan, 1988; Agresti & Finlay, 1986). This test is able to determine a difference between groups, rank order the groups, and by ratio account for the varying lengths of the police narratives. "This [the Mann-Whitney U] is one of the most powerful of the non-parametric tests" (Siegel & Castellan, 1988, p. 129) The Mann-Whitney U was

used to answer research questions two through ten and research question twelve, which asked the difference between two independent variables. The significance level was set at ($p < .01$) for a two-tailed test.

Kruskal-Wallis

The Kruskal-Wallis test is a non-parametric, one-way analysis of variance by ranks (Siegel & Castellan, 1988; Agresti & Finlay, 1986). This test was used to answer research questions thirteen and fourteen which asked the difference between three independent variables. The significance level was set at ($p < .01$).

Friedman

The Friedman test is a non-parametric, two-way analysis of variance by ranks for three or more matched samples within the same population (Siegel & Castellan, 1988). This test was used to answer research question eleven which asked the difference between the eight loaded topics used in the police narratives. The significance level was set at ($p < .01$).

A conservative p-value was set for this study by the researcher. The p-value was chosen due to the exploratory nature of this study as well as the number of tests that were run.

CHAPTER 6 RESULTS

Mann-Whitney U tests, Kruskal-Wallis tests, and/or Friedman tests were conducted using the MacIntosh program Statview in order to answer research questions two through fourteen. Research question one was answered by conducting a simple count and percentage of the types of rape that have been reported to the Gainesville Police Department.

Types of Rape

The types of rape reported in the demographic section of the police reports were: acquaintance, stranger, gang (by multiple offenders), or domestic (by a relative). Research question one asked, "What are the statistics in Gainesville regarding the different types of rape reported?"

A simple count revealed that two-thirds of the 30 Gainesville rape cases were recorded to be acquaintance rapes. See Table 1.

The two cases of gang rape and the one case of domestic rape were not used in the statistical analyses due to an insufficient sample of those types of rape. In this study the seven cases of stranger rape ($n = 14$) and a random sample of seven cases of acquaintance rape ($n = 14$), for a total of

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF RAPE RECORDED

Type of Rape	# Cases	<u>%</u>
Acquaintance	20	66.7
Stranger	7	23.3
Gang	2	6.7
Domestic	1	3.3
Total:	30	100.0

(n = 28) were used to answer research questions two and three.

Research question two asked, "Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U test failed to indicate significance regarding the loaded language and the diversity of language used between police reports of acquaintance rape versus stranger rape.

Research question three asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the type of rape reported?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests conducted for the eight loaded topics failed to indicate significance regarding any of the loaded topics used in police reports of acquaintance rape versus stranger rape.

Race of the Victim

The races of the victims were indicated on the demographic section of the police reports. In this study, fifteen cases of black victims (n = 30) and fifteen cases of white victims (n = 30), for a total of (n = 60) were used to answer research questions four and five.

Research question four asked, "Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U test failed to indicate significance regarding the loaded language and the diversity of language used in police reports of black victims versus white victims.

Research question five asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the race of the victim?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests conducted for the eight loaded topics failed to indicate significance regarding any of the loaded topics used in police reports of black victims versus white victims.

Level of Officer Experience

The experience level of the officers were indicated to be either experienced or inexperienced. In this study, only the initial reports were used to answer research questions six and seven because the supplement reports were written by detectives who were all experienced. The initial reports contained an even distribution including fifteen experienced officers and fifteen inexperienced officers ($n = 30$).

Research question six asked, "Are there differences in the language used by experienced officers versus inexperienced officers who write rape reports?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U test indicated a significant difference for Total Loaded Words/Total Words between experienced and inexperienced officers ($U = 52.5$, $z = -2.5$, $p < .01$). Officers with experience used more loaded words in their police narratives than did the inexperienced officers. See Table 2.

Results of the Man-Whitney U test also indicated a significant difference for Negative Loaded Words/Total Words between experienced and inexperienced officers ($U = 54.5$, $z =$

TABLE 2

EXPERIENCE LEVEL OF OFFICERS: LOADED WORDS AND LOADED TOPICS

Dep. Variable	Exp (n = 15)	Inexp (n = 15)	p
	Mean Ranks	Mean Ranks	
TLW/TW	11.5	19.5	< .01
PLW/TW	16.3	14.7	NS
NLW/TW	11.6	19.4	< .01
PLT/TLW	18.8	12.2	NS
NLT/TLW	11.7	19.3	< .01

TLW/TW--Total Loaded Words/Total Words

PLW/TW--Positive Loaded Words/Total Words

NLW/TW--Negative Loaded Words/Total Words

PLW/TLW--Positive Loaded Words/Total Loaded Words

NLW/TLW--Negative Loaded Words/Total Loaded Words

2.4, $p < .01$). Officers with experience used more negative loaded words/total words in their police narratives than did the inexperienced officers. See Table 3.

Results failed to yield significance regarding Positive Loaded Words/Total Words and the diversity of language between experienced officers and inexperienced officers.

Research question seven asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used by experienced police officers versus inexperienced police officers who write rape reports?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests conducted for the eight loaded topics indicated no significance between experienced officers and inexperienced regarding the loaded topics.

Gender of the Officers

The gender of the officers were indicated on the police reports. In this study, only the supplement reports were used to answer research questions eight and nine because they included an even distribution of fifteen males and fifteen females of the same experience level, ($n = 30$). Twelve different detectives wrote the 30 supplement reports of rape, which also stratified to six male detectives and six female detectives ($n = 12$). In order to insure that the detectives who wrote more than one supplement did not skew the results, analyses were conducted for both $n = 30$ and $n = 12$. See Figure 1 from Methods Chapter.

Research question eight asked, "Are there differences in the language used by female police officers versus male

TABLE 3

INITIAL REPORTS VERSUS SUPPLEMENT REPORTS: TOTAL LOADED WORDS

Dep.Var.	n (I)	n (S)	<u>Mean Ranks</u>		p
			Initial	Supplement	
TLW/TW	30	30	25.6	35.4	< .01
	12	12	7.1	17.9	<.001
PLW/TW	30	30	17.3	43.3	<.001
	12	12	7.3	17.8	<.001
NLW/TW	30	30	34.2	26.7	NS
	12	12	13.8	11.2	NS
PLW/TLW	30	30	18.3	42.7	<.001
	12	12	7.3	17.7	<.001
NLW/TLW	30	30	42.7	18.3	<.001
	12	12	16.4	8.6	<.001

TLW/TW--Total Loaded Words/Total Words

PLW/TW--Positive Loaded Words/Total Words

NLW/TW--Negative Loaded Words/Total Words

PLW/TLW--Positive Loaded Words/Total Loaded Words

NLW/TLW--Negative Loaded Words/Total Loaded Words

police officers who write rape reports?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U test failed to indicate significance regarding the loaded language and the diversity of language used by female detectives versus male detectives for both tests; ($n = 12$) and ($n = 30$).

Research question nine asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used by female police officers versus male officers who write rape reports?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests conducted for the eight loaded topics failed to indicate significance regarding the loaded topics used by female detectives versus male detectives.

Initial versus Supplement Reports

The police reports were stratified to be either initial reports or supplement reports. In this study, thirty initial reports and their corresponding supplement reports were used to answer research questions ten, eleven, and twelve ($n = 60$). Twelve different detectives wrote the 30 supplement reports of rape, which also stratified to six male detectives and six female detectives. In order to insure that a gender effect did not occur due to the majority of initial reports written by male officers and to insure that the detectives who wrote more than one supplement did not skew the results, analyses were also conducted for a sample which included twelve initial reports (six written by female officers and six written by male officers) versus twelve supplement

reports (six written by female detectives and six written by male detectives). See Figure 1 from Methods Chapter.

Research question ten asked, "Are there differences in the language used in initial police reports versus supplement police reports of rape?" Results of the Mann-Whitney U test indicated a significant difference for Total Loaded Words/Total Words between initial reports and supplement reports ($n = 60$, $U = 303.5$, $z = -2.7$, $p < .006$). Significance was also indicated for the follow-up: Total Loaded Words/Total Words ($n = 24$, $U = 7$, $z = -3.8$, $p < .0005$). Initial reports in both analyses contained more loaded words/total words in their police narratives than did the inexperienced officers. See Table 3.

Results of the Mann-Whitney U test also indicated a significant difference for Positive Loaded Words/Total Words between initial reports and supplement reports ($n = 60$, $U = 518$, $z = -5.9$, $p < .0000006$). Significance was also indicated for the follow-up: Positive Loaded Words/Total Words ($n = 24$, $U = 9$, $z = -3.7$, $p < .0005$). Initial reports in both analyses contained more positive loaded words/total words than did the supplement reports. See Table 3.

Results of the Mann-Whitney U test also indicated a significant difference for Positive Loaded Words/Total Loaded Words between initial reports and supplement reports ($n = 60$, $U = 85$, $z = -5.4$, $p < .0000006$). Significance was also indicated for the follow-up: Positive Loaded Words/Total

Loaded Words ($n = 24$, $U = 10$, $z = -3.6$, $p < .0005$). Initial reports in both analyses contained more positive loaded words/total loaded words than did the supplement reports. See Table 3.

Results failed to yield significance regarding the diversity of language between experienced officers and inexperienced officers.

Research question eleven asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used in the police reports of rape?" Results of the Friedman tests revealed significant differences between total loaded topics/total loaded words for topics "Police-Victim" and "Victim-Offender" in all police reports ($n = 60$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 189.4$, $p < .001$), in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives ($n = 24$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 76.1$, $p < .001$), in the initial reports only ($n = 30$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 105.5$, $p < .001$), and in the supplement reports only ($n = 30$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 97.1$, $p < .001$). See Table 4.

Results of the Friedman tests revealed significance between positive loaded topics/total loaded words for topics "Police-Victim," "Police-Authority," and "Victim-Offender" in all police reports ($n = 60$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 115.9$, $p < .001$), in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives ($n = 24$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 58.1$, $p < .001$), in the initial reports only ($n = 30$,

TABLE 4

POLICE REPORTS AND TOTAL LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL LOADED WORDS

Topic	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 60	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 24	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 I	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 S
PV	*6.5	*6.1	*6.1	*6.9
PO	3.8	3.8	3.5	4.1
PA	4.7	4.8	4.4	5.0
PW	3.1	3.2	2.9	3.3
VO	*6.9	*7.2	*7.6	*6.1
VM	3.3	3.3	3.8	2.8
VW	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6
EX	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.2

PV--Police with Victim

PO--Police with Offender

PA--Police with Authority

PW--Police with Witness

VO--Victim with Offender

VM--Victim with Medical Personnel

VW--Victim with Witness

EX--Evidence/Extra

*Denotes a significant difference

$df = 7$, $Xr2 = 53.1$, $p < .001$), and in the supplement reports only ($n = 30$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 87.1$, $p < .001$). See Table 5.

Results of the Friedman tests revealed significance between negative loaded topics/total loaded words for topics "Police-Victim," "Victim-Offender," and "Evidence/Extra" in all police reports ($n = 60$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 200.5$, $p < .001$), in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives ($n = 24$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 81.4$, $p < .001$), in the initial reports only ($n = 30$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 109.8$, $p < .001$), and in the supplement reports only ($n = 30$, $df = 7$, $Xr2 = 99.3$, $p < .001$). See Table 6.

Research question twelve asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used in initial police reports versus supplement police reports of rape?"

Results of the Man-Whitney U tests revealed significance between initial reports and supplement reports for loaded topic/total loaded words for topics "Police-Victim" ($n = 60$, $U = 230.5$, $z = -3.2$, $p < .001$) "Victim-Offender" ($n = 60$, $U = 203$, $z = -3.7$, $p < .0003$), and "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 60$, $U = 284.5$, $z = -2.7$, $p < .007$). However, no significance was found in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives regarding the topics "Police-Victim" ($n = 24$), "Victim-Offender" ($n = 24$), and "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 24$). See Table 7.

TABLE 5

POLICE REPORTS AND POSITIVE LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL LOADED WORDS

Topic	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 60	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 24	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 I	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 S
PV	*6.2	*6.2	*5.5	*7.1
PO	3.7	3.9	3.4	4.0
PA	*4.9	*4.6	*4.7	*5.3
PW	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.5
VO	*6.0	*6.8	*6.4	*5.6
VM	3.9	3.6	4.5	3.0
VW	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.0
EX	4.7	4.5	4.8	4.6

PV--Police with Victim

PO--Police with Offender

PA--Police with Authority

PW--Police with Witness

VO--Victim with Offender

VM--Victim with Medical Personnel

VW--Victim with Witness

EX--Evidence/Extra

*Denotes a significant difference

TABLE 6

POLICE REPORTS AND NEGATIVE LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL LOADED WORDS

Topic	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 60	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 24	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 I	Mean Rank <u>n</u> = 30 S
PV	*6.5	*6.1	*6.2	*6.8
PO	3.9	3.9	3.6	4.2
PA	4.6	4.7	4.3	4.9
PW	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.3
VO	*7.0	*7.4	*7.7	*6.4
VM	3.1	3.2	3.4	2.7
VW	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7
EX	*5.0	*4.8	*5.0	*5.0

PV--Police with Victim

PO--Police with Offender

PA--Police with Authority

PW--Police with Witness

VO--Victim with Offender

VM--Victim with Medical Personnel

VW--Victim with Witness

EX--Evidence/Extra

*Denotes a significant difference

TABLE 7

INITIALS VERSUS SUPPLEMENTS: LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL LOADED WORDS

Topic	Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 60)			Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 24)		
	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>
PV	23.2	37.8	<.001	10.5	14.5	NS
PO	29.5	33.8	NS	11.7	13.3	NS
PA	28.0	33.0	NS	11.9	13.1	NS
PW	31.7	29.3	NS	14.5	10.5	NS
VO	38.7	22.3	<.001	14.8	10.2	NS
VM	36.0	24.9	< .01	14.7	10.3	NS
VW	32.6	28.4	NS	15.4	10.0	NS
EX	31.8	29.3	NS	13.6	11.8	NS

- PV--Police with Victim
- PO--Police with Offender
- PA--Police with Authority
- PW--Police with Witness
- VO--Victim with Offender
- VM--Victim with Medical Personnel
- VW--Victim with Witness
- EX--Evidence/Extra

Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests revealed significance between initial reports and supplement reports

Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests revealed a significant difference between initial reports and supplement reports for positive loaded topic/total loaded words for topics "Police-Victim" ($n = 60$, $U = 153.5$, $z = -4.4$, $p < .00006$) "Police-Authority" ($n = 60$, $U = 289.5$, $z = -2.4$, $p < .01$), and "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 60$, $U = 262$, $z = -3.1$, $p < .002$). Significance was found in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives regarding the topics "Police-Victim" ($n = 24$, $U = 26$, $z = -2.6$, $p < .007$), and "Police-Authority" ($n = 24$, $U = 31.5$, $z = -2.4$, $p < .01$). However no significance was found for the topic "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 24$). See Table 8.

Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests revealed significance between initial reports and supplement reports for negative loaded topic/total loaded words for topics "Victim-Offender" ($n = 60$, $U = 158$, $z = -4.3$, $p < .00006$), and "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 60$, $U = 282.5$, $z = -2.8$, $p < .006$). However, no significance was found in the evenly distributed initial and supplement sample controlling for gender and the detectives regarding the topics "Victim-Offender" ($n = 24$), and "Victim-Medical Personnel" ($n = 24$). See Table 9.

TABLE 8

INITIALS VERSUS SUPPLEMENTS: POSITIVE LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL
LOADED WORDS

Topic	Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 60)			Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 24)		
	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>
PV	20.6	40.4	<.001	8.7	16.3	< .01
PO	27.3	33.7	.NS	10.5	14.5	NS
PA	25.2	35.9	< .01	9.1	15.9	< .01
PW	28.7	32.3	NS	12.5	12.5	NS
VO	31.1	29.9	NS	12.2	12.8	NS
VM	36.8	24.2	< .01	14.8	10.2	NS
VW	31.5	29.5	NS	14.5	10.4	NS
EX	31.1	29.9	NS	15.4	9.6	NS

PV--Police with Victim

PO--Police with Offender

PA--Police with Authority

PW--Police with Witness

VO--Victim with Offender

VM--Victim with Medical Personnel

VW--Victim with Witness

EX--Evidence/Extra

TABLE 9

INITIALS VERSUS SUPPLEMENTS: NEGATIVE LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL
LOADED WORDS

Topic	Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 60)			Initials vs Supplement (<u>n</u> = 24)		
	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>p</u>
PV	26.6	34.4	NS	10.0	15.0	NS
PO	29.7	31.3	NS	12.1	12.9	NS
PA	30.0	30.9	NS	12.1	12.8	NS
PW	32.4	28.7	NS	14.9	10.1	NS
VO	40.2	20.8	<.001	15.6	9.4	NS
VM	36.1	24.9	< .01	14.3	10.8	NS
VW	31.1	29.3	NS	14.5	10.5	NS
EX	32.9	28.1	NS	13.8	11.2	NS

PV--Police with Victim

PO--Police with Offender

PA--Police with Authority

PW--Police with Witness

VO--Victim with Offender

VM--Victim with Medical Personnel

VW--Victim with Witness

EX--Evidence/Extra

Occupation of the Victim

The occupation of the victim was stratified into three categories; prostitutes, students, and other. In this study there were eleven prostitute victims, six student victims, and thirteen other victims. A random sample of six cases of both prostitute victims ($n = 12$) and other victims ($n = 12$) were used in conjunction with the six cases of student victims ($n = 12$) for an even distribution and total of ($n = 36$) in order to answer research questions thirteen and fourteen.

Research question thirteen asked, "Are there differences in the language used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim?" Results of the Kruskal-Wallis test failed to indicate significance regarding loaded language.

Results of the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significance regarding the diversity of language used in prostitute victims versus student victims versus other victims ($n = 36$, $df = 2$, $H = 13.9$, $p < .01$). More diverse language was used in the reports of student victims and other victims than in the reports of prostitute victims. See Table 10.

Research question fourteen asked, "Are there differences in the loaded topics used in police reports of rape regarding the occupation of the victim?" Results of the Kruskal-Wallis tests revealed significance between prostitute victims,

TABLE 10

OCCUPATION OF THE VICTIM: DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGE

Occupation	<u>n</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
Prostitute	12	328.5	27.4
Student	12	178.5	14.9
Other	12	159.0	13.3

victims, student victims, and other victims regarding negative loaded topics/total loaded words for the loaded topic "Police-Authority" in the initial reports ($n = 18$, $df = 2$, $H = 13.3$, $p < .01$). More negative loaded topics/total loaded words for the topic "Police-Authority" were used in student victim reports and other victims reports than in prostitute victim reports. See Table 11.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF THE VICTIM: NEGATIVE LOADED TOPICS/TOTAL
LOADED WORDS FOR TOPIC "POLICE-AUTHORITY" IN INITIAL REPORTS

Occupation	<u>n</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
Prostitute	6	87.0	14.5
Student	6	46.5	7.8
Other	6	37.5	6.3

CHAPTER 7
DISCUSSION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE LANGUAGE USED
BY POLICE OFFICERS FROM REPORTS OF RAPE

Police officers have been presented, for years, in criminology and victimology literature and research studies as being insensitive, perverse individuals who re-victimize women who report that they have been raped (Smith, Sloan, & Ward, 1990; Mills, 1989; Estrich, 1987; Margolin, 1972). Victims of rape state they have been mistreated by police who ask personal and probing questions at a time when they need compassion, empathy, and understanding (Bulmiller, 1990; Bell, 1991; Blair, 1985). Some studies have revealed that police are prejudiced against those rape victims who have been date raped or raped by an acquaintance, insinuating that women cannot be raped by someone they know (Warshaw, 1988; Belknap, 1989). Other forms of police bias have been reported in the fashion of racial prejudice, implying that police view White victims as more credible and believable than Black victims (Bell, 1992; Freidrich, 1977; Willis & Wells, 1988; Kerstetter & Van Winkle, 1990). The possible influential factors of the gender and experience level of the officer have also been investigated by researchers relating to the treatment of rape victims. Blair (1985) and members of the Gainesville Police Department (1991) contend that the

gender of a police officer has no affect on a rape case, as well as the rape victims themselves express no gender preference when being interviewed. There has been contradictory findings regarding the influence of experience on police behavior.

Stenross and Kleinman (1989) state that more experienced officers become desensitized and "toughened" to the crime of rape, thus do not openly exhibit concern and understanding for the victim. Experienced officers and detectives have been found to express cynicism towards rape victims because of the majority of rape calls ultimately being fabricated or unfounded (Gainesville Police Department, 1991, Personal Communication; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989). Opposing studies, from the fields of psychology and communication have revealed that therapists, for example, as they gain more experience become more sensitive and empathic towards their clients (Rogers, 1980; Mullen and Abeles, 1972). The majority of police literature and experience concerns the arrest and conviction record of the officers (Forst, et.al., 1977; Freidrich, 1977).

There are two components of rape victim interviewing that have not been investigated: the difference or similarity between the reports written about one case of rape, and the influence of prostitution and drug use on the case of a rape victim. The first area of police officer and rape victim interaction that has not been explored by

researchers is the time factor between the two standard interviews that occur, resulting in the writing of an initial report and a supplement report. Research has also not included the police attitude toward prostitute victims and how she may or may not differ from student victims or other victims.

Thus, this dissertation has explored the language chosen by police officers as they have written both initial and supplement reports of rape in Gainesville, Florida. The sixty reports were analyzed by methods of content analysis which examined the differences between the types of rape reported (stranger versus acquaintance), the race of the victims (black versus white), the experience level of the officers (experienced versus inexperienced), the gender of the officer (male versus female), the type of report written (initial versus supplement), and the occupation of the victim (student versus prostitute versus other). These analyses have led the researcher to reach some conclusions about the police officers' attitudes as they are reflected through their language choices contained within the narrative section of the reports.

Implications of the Results

In reviewing the results of this study, it has been revealed that the police reports have differed in their content of loaded words, diverse words, and loaded topics. However, as presented below, the differences in language do

not present the members of the Gainesville Police Department, who wrote these reports, as biased or prejudiced toward victims of acquaintance rape or black victims.

Types of Rape

The first question asked in this study inquired about the types of rape reported in Gainesville and how many cases of each type was reported. Results showed that of the 30 cases of rape, twenty cases were acquaintance rape, seven cases were stranger rape, two cases were gang rape, and one case was domestic rape. Thus, in two thirds of the cases, the victim knew her assailant. This was an interesting and contradictory finding considering that previous studies have indicated that stranger rape is more often reported than acquaintance rape (LeBeau, 1987; Bumiller, 1990). In fact, Warshaw (1988) and Belknap, (1989) have stated that acquaintance rape is virtually not reported at all.

However, upon deeper consideration of the results, the majority of reports being acquaintance rapes is not surprising. Consider the fact that the Gainesville Police Department, as well as other police departments, had disclosed that the majority of the rape calls made were unfounded. Members of the Gainesville Police Department (1991) have stated that they believe 85-90 percent of the rape cases are unfounded for the reasons of a sex for crack exchange gone sour, a complicated romantic relationship, or

from the presence of a third party. Any one of the three rationales for unfounded rape includes an acquaintance.

In most instances, the prostitutes reporting rape have conducted "previous business" with their alleged assailant, or know of them from other street contacts. Those victims involved in a complicated romantic relationship, typically brought down to the Gainesville Police Department by a husband or a boyfriend, have also known their alleged assailant. The victims who were "interrupted" by a co-worker or their boss (a third party) have also known their alleged assailant.

A post hoc interview was conducted and questioned an experienced Gainesville Police Officer (May, 1992, Personal Communication). She was asked to review the 30 cases of rape used in this study and provide her opinion as to the validity of the rape incident. She assessed that nineteen (63 percent) of the 30 cases, in her opinion, were unfounded. Some of the cases were evaluated as unfounded because the victim signed a complaint-withdrawal form. Other cases were not believed because the victim presented contradictory information regarding the details of the assault as well as when it took place. Some cases were dropped because of the belligerent behavior of the victim and her unwillingness to cooperate with both the medical personnel and the police.

The second question posed, regarding the types of rape reported, concerned the use of loaded words and diverse words

in the reports. Seven cases of stranger rape were compared against seven cases of acquaintance rape. There was no significant difference regarding the use of positive or negative loaded words nor a difference in the diversity of language used by police. Even though, it was presented that cases of acquaintance rape may reflect a possible unfounded case, the officers and detectives writing the police reports did not express a bias in their language regarding the type of rape reported.

The third question asked, regarding the types of rape reported, concerned the use of loaded topics. Once again, results indicated that the Gainesville Police Department showed no significant difference in their use of loaded topics when writing reports of stranger rapes and acquaintance rapes. Thus, it is concluded by the researcher, that unlike some of the literature that states police place more credibility and believability on victims of stranger rape (Bumiller, 1990; LeBeau, 1987), the reports analyzed in this study indicate no bias regarding the type of rape reported by a victim.

Race of the Victim

According to the results found in this study, there was no racial bias indicated by the language contained within the police reports. Research question four asked whether there was a difference in the loaded words and the diverse words between reports of black victims and white victims. There

were no significant differences found in the use of positive or negative loaded words nor the diversity of language on the basis of the victim's race. As a side note, it can also be stated that of the forty two different police officers who wrote the police reports, only five were black. Thus the attitudes, as expressed by their written language, of the white officers also contradict results of previous research studies. Past studies indicate that white police officers are prejudiced against both black suspects and black victims (Bell, 1992; Berg & Johnson, 1978; Willis & Wells, 1988; Sherman, 1980). Research question four inquired about the race of the victim and the differences in the loaded topics contained in the police reports. Results indicated no significant difference regarding the use of loaded topics between reports of black victims and white victims.

In current reference to the racial unrest and riots in Los Angeles, California, resulting from the Rodney King trial, police departments around this country may be under careful scrutiny regarding race relations. Results of this study, from the narratives of the Gainesville Police Department who interviewed rape victims and wrote reports, did not indicate negative racial attitudes toward black victims of rape.

Experience Level of the Officer

Research question six of this study asked whether there was a difference in the loaded words and diverse words

contained in the reports based on the experience level of the officer. Results indicated a significant difference regarding the total loaded words/total words; showing that the experienced officers incorporate a higher ratio of loaded words than inexperienced officers in police reports of rape. Upon review of the narratives, the experienced officers appeared to use loaded words that described the incident in more emotive detail. For example, one report written by an experienced officer stated, "the victim started kicking, screaming, and pushing the attacker away." A similar interaction between a victim and an assailant written by an inexperienced officer stated, "she screamed when the man placed his arm on her." The experienced officers tended to also comment more on the emotional state of the victim, using loaded words, than the inexperienced officers. Two examples from the experienced police officers reports are: "She became scared when retelling the events," and "victim appeared to be injured and in a traumatized state."

Results from this study revealed that the experienced officers not only used a ratio of more loaded words than their inexperienced co-workers, but used a significantly higher ratio of negative loaded words/total words. The experienced officers used more negative connotative words to describe the incident. The experienced officers actually seemed to incorporate the word "victim" in their reports more than the inexperienced officers who used the words "she,"

"her," or the victim's name. The use of other negative loaded words by experienced officers, like in the previous examples, depicted the emotional state or behavior of the victim.

Negative loaded words that revealed the state of the victim reflected an interesting irony. It appears that the more negative language that is incorporated into a report, the more traumatized and "valid" the victim of rape becomes. By writing the report and referring to the individual who is reporting the rape as a "victim" in addition to using negative descriptors such as "screaming," "fighting," "wrists bound," "tied up," "painful," and "frightened," the incident is not only animated but takes on a sense of credibility from the victim's perspective.

The positive loaded words in the reports, used by both experienced and inexperienced officers devalued and undermined the believability of the victim. For example, some of the positive loaded words included, "she went with him to party and to have a good time," "she consented to the sex," and "she said she enjoyed the intercourse and agreed to it."

Research question seven asked whether there were differences regarding the loaded topics depending on the experience level of the officer. Results indicated that experienced officers used significantly more negative loaded topics/total loaded words than did inexperienced officers.

Upon review of the narratives, it seems that the experienced officers do not have apprehension when reporting the negative interactions between themselves and the victim, between the victim and the offender, between the victim and medical personnel, or about the documentation of evidence. The experienced officers were more likely to use negative loaded language (words and topics) when writing about the incident of rape, again in most cases possibly giving credibility to the victim.

The differences between the language used by experienced officers and inexperienced officers warrants serious attention. Since it appears to be that the experienced officers may provide a more detailed and descriptive presentation of the incident, some standards of rape report writing should reflect the style adopted by the experienced officers. Perhaps it should be standardized that the individual reporting the rape be referred to as a "victim" in the police reports. The use of the word "victim" may enhance the believability of real rape victims, and by the same token probably not enhance the credibility of a fabricated case. For example, a sentence written, "the victim said she enjoyed the intercourse and agreed to it" does not seem to dismiss her consent.

Providing more detail of the incident, using negative or positive loaded language, is in everyone's best interest. The reports written by the experienced officers were not

significantly longer than those written by inexperienced officers, thus not taking any more time to write-always a benefit for police officers. The victim receives a more encompassing representation of the incident, which when presented to the State Attorney's office, to other attorneys, and perhaps in court, is a more descriptive piece of text. On the other hand, those cases that are felt to be fabricated can likewise include more detail in hopes of obtaining an expanded rationale for the high incidences of unfounded rape.

Gender of the Officer

Research question eight in this study asked whether there was difference in the loaded words and diverse words in the police narratives based on the gender of the officer. The experience level of the officer was controlled for, only using the detectives' supplement reports to answer this question. Results indicated no significant differences in the use of loaded words nor diverse words based on gender. This finding is compatible with the victim's preference as to which gender interviews them. Victims do not report a gender preference when being interviewed and that may be a result of this study's findings that the detectives did not reveal gender associated attitude differences toward rape victims.

Even when a follow-up test was conducted, using twelve reports written by different detectives, results did not indicate significant differences in the use of loaded words or diverse words based on the gender of the detective.

Research question nine asked whether there was a difference in the loaded topics used by male detectives versus female detectives. Results indicated no significant difference in the use of loaded topics based on gender. Thus, the importance or amount of police and victim interactions presented in the police reports did not differ based on the detective's gender. The follow-up tests, using the twelve different detectives also failed to indicate significant differences regarding the loaded topics contained in the police reports.

The results, or lack of significant differences between experienced male and female detectives corresponds to Blair (1985) who stated that the gender of the officer is insignificant when evaluating performance and interaction with victims. The results, however do contradict some communication research which states that females are found to be better listeners and more empathic communicators (Winter, 1966; Sewell, 1985). Parker, et.al., (1989) states that female police officers do not have adequate role models and often blame women for their actions.

There was no evidence from the language used by female detectives in this study that supported the idea that they either need female role models, or blame rape victims for their behavior. In fact, from the personal interviews that were conducted by the researcher, the female detectives and officers were professional, knowledgeable, and did not

demonstrate any of the stereotypical notions that they had to prove themselves or behave in an overly "macho" manner. The "informal" Sex Crime Unit of the Gainesville Police Department is comprised of female detectives who have been chosen for that unit based on their education regarding sexual assault, victim interviewing techniques, and their experience. One report from one of these female detectives even cited research:

"Victim is extremely upset by this incident and said she felt very disorganized and expressed feelings of disbelief regarding the incident. These feelings are consistent with post traumatic stress disorder experienced by rape victims. See American Journal of Psychiatry, volume 131, number nine, September (1974) and Rape Trauma Syndrome by Ann Wolbert-Bugess and Linda Lytle-Holstrom."

Police Reports; Initial and Supplement

Research question ten asked if there was a difference in the loaded words and diverse words contained in initial reports versus supplement reports. Results indicated a significant difference regarding the total loaded words/total words and a significant difference regarding positive loaded words/total words. Both significant differences showed that the initial reports contained a higher ratio of total loaded words as well as positive loaded words than the supplement reports for both ($n = 60$) and the follow-up tests, controlling for gender and experience ($n = 24$).

This finding suggests that more loaded or emotive detail is perhaps presented in the first interview from which the

officer writes the initial report. Since it is the officer who writes the initial report, that typically has contact with the victim first, this officer may be offered information that is the most recent in the mind of the victim. The victim may also be in a state of initial shock or display overt emotions, which the officer then records as part of the report.

Upon reviewing the text of the narratives and the loaded words that occurred in both the initial reports and the supplement reports, it was mostly in the initial reports that the officer made statements regarding the emotional state of the victim. The initial reports contained loaded words such as; "the assault was painful," "victims wrists were still numb during questioning," "she stated that she was confused."

The ratio of positive loaded words that occurred in the initial reports moreso than the supplement reports, did not reflect the state of the victim, but rather the state and behavior of the police officer. For example the positive loaded words that were frequently used in the initial reports included: "this officer called for assistance," "help from rape victim advocate was requested," "this officer escorted detective and victim to the emergency room," and "this officer discovered positive physical evidence relating to the case."

Research question eleven investigated the use of loaded topics in the reports and asked if there were differences in

the loaded topics used in initial report versus supplement reports. Results indicated that overall, the two loaded topics, "Police-Victim," and "Victim-Offender" were used significantly more than the other six loaded topics across the sixty police reports. More specifically, results revealed that for total loaded topics/total loaded words, the loaded topics "Police-Victim" and "Victim-Offender" were used significantly more than the other six loaded topics across all sixty reports. Results indicated that for positive loaded topics/total loaded words, the loaded topics "Police-Victim," "Police-Authority," and "Victim-Offender" were used significantly more than the other five loaded topics across all sixty reports, and for negative loaded topics/total loaded words, the loaded topics "Police-Victim," "Victim-Offender," and "Evidence-Extra" were used significantly more than the other five loaded topics.

These results suggest that police officers spend most of their writing and language on the perceived interaction between themselves and the victim and the interaction between the victim and the offender. It is interesting that the interaction between the officers and the victims would be emphasized to such an extent, but it can be assumed that it is through that interaction that the officers develop a "feel" for the victim as well as determining what follow-up questions and other information needs to be gathered. It would be important for the public, in addition to rape victim

advocates, to be aware of the role and the emphasis placed on the interaction between the victim and the interviewing officer.

The loaded topics, "Police-Victim" and "Victim-Offender" claimed importance regardless of whether the loaded topic was positive or negative. For example, the reports showed that the cooperative behavior and associated positive loaded topics, as well as the uncooperative behavior and associated negative loaded topics of the victim with either the police or the offender was emphasized. Thus reports included interactions between the officer and the victim such as; "victim told me this is fucking bullshit," and "victim was helpful in taking me to the crime scene." The reports included interactions between the victim and the offender such as; "she willingly went to bed with the suspect" and "she screamed and scratched as offender tried to assault her orally."

The positive loaded topic, "Police-Authority" was likewise emphasized across all sixty reports. As described above, most of the positive loaded words in the initial reports reflected police behavior (i.e., asking for assistance). Likewise, the positive loaded topic, "Police-Authority" focused on the positive interactions between police officers and other police, police and rape victim advocates, and especially in the supplement reports, the

positive interactions between the medical personnel and the police.

The negative loaded topic, "Evidence-Extra" was demonstrative of another important piece of the police perspective. Since the bottomline objective of the police is to gather information, physical and circumstantial, the information they reveal in their reports regarding evidence is crucial to the case. The negative loaded language in the loaded topic "Evidence-Extra" almost could describe whether the case itself was founded or unfounded, respectively as shown below. For example, "I placed torn blouse in evidence locker along with completed rape kit" versus "I attached complaintant's complaint withdrawl form to back of report" shows the use of negative loaded topics regarding evidence or lack of evidence in rape cases.

In answering research question twelve, there were also significant differences found between the initial reports and the supplement reports. Results indicated, as were suspected that the supplement reports contained more examples of the total loaded topic/total loaded words, positive loaded topics/total loaded words, and negative loaded topic/total loaded words for the loaded topic, "Victim-Medical Personnel." This finding was suspected because it is with the detectives, moreso than with the patrol officers, that there is viewed and perceived interaction between the doctors, nurses, and staff and the victim by the reporting

officer. Detectives usually collect the physical evidence and exam results from the medical personnel and observe how the victim interacts with the medical personnel.

The initial reports contained more positive loaded topic/total loaded words for the loaded topic, "Police-Authority" than did the supplement reports. This finding is not surprising because it is in the initial reporting, or typically by a patrol officer, who calls for assistance, requests the presence of a detective, calls the rape victim's advocate, and establishes contact with the medical personnel. It can be stated that the interaction with these people of authority are perceived in a positive way by those officers who wrote the initial reports.

Occupation of the Victim

Research question thirteen asked whether there was a difference in the use of loaded words and diverse words regarding the occupation or the type of victim (i.e., a student, a prostitute, or other). Results of this study indicated a significant difference regarding the diversity of language used in the reports. The "student" victim reports and "other" victim reports contained a greater diversity of language than the "prostitute" victim reports. Upon reviewing the police narratives it was observed that there was more detail used in describing the incident of rape and there were more diverse words because, typically for the student and other victims there were more "players" involved.

In most cases of prostitute victims, the rape victim advocates were not called, sometimes the interaction between the prostitute victim and the medical personnel was limited or nonexistent because she either refused treatment or "became verbally abusive to the doctor," and in few cases there were no witnesses.

However, it is interesting to note that in two of the prostitute cases, there was quite a diversification of language relating to the use of drugs, drug paraphrenalia (i.e., crack pipes, rocks of crack), weapons (i.e., guns, knives, switch blades, rifles), previous arrest records, and the discovery of outstanding warrants. So ironically, the two prostitute victims who initially called the police regarding an incident of alleged rape found themselves getting arrested on outstanding charges of shoplifting, petit theft, and burglary.

On the other side of the coin, two other cases of prostitute victims involved the charge and arrest of their offenders. Therefore it was established through this study that even though there may be some skepticism, initially, toward a rape victim who is a prostitute, the Gainesville Police Department does not automatically dismiss the case as unfounded.

Research question fourteen asked whether there were differences in the loaded topics used by police regarding the occupation of the victim. Results indicated that in the

initial reports, there was a significant difference concerning the negative loaded topics/total loaded words for the loaded topic, "Police-Authority." The student victim reports as well as the other victim reports contained more negative loaded topics/total loaded words for the loaded topic, "Police-Authority" than did the prostitute victim reports.

Upon reviewing the police narratives, the results suggest that in the initial reports, the officers were more likely to request assistance to check the crime scene area, to do a search for possible witnesses, when calling for back-up (the detectives) use the terms "sexual battery" or "rape," and to request a "sexual battery kit" from the medical personnel when reporting about "student" or "other" victims.

An Overview

While this study yielded a substantial number of significant results regarding the loaded words, diverse words, and loaded topics contained in the text of the police narratives, there are four points of particular interest that should be emphasized. First, the high percentage (66.7) of reported acquaintance rapes in Gainesville contradicts previous statistics regarding the types of rape reported nationwide. Second, this study revealed that, at least through the language used in the rape reports, the police officers of the Gainesville Police Department did not display bias or prejudice toward the type of rape reported (stranger

or acquaintance), the race of the victim (black or white), and do not dismiss a case of rape as unfounded even in the circumstance where the victim is a known or admitted prostitute. The gender of the reporting detective did not reveal a language bias toward the victim either.

The third point of interest involves the results that were significant and did reveal language differences. Differences in the experience level of the officers as well as the time frame in which the victim interviews were conducted (initial or supplement) exhibited and emphasized what the police perceived to be important from their perspective. It was shown that the interaction between police and victims and the interaction between victims and their assailants are the two primary loaded topics of importance. The notion that the more negative loaded language in the report may well indicate a more believable case because of the "trauma," "pain," and "resistance" displayed by the victim.

The fourth important point that this study has covertly stated, is that there needs to be more research done in the areas of communication and criminology and communication and victimology. These three fields have yet to be adequately synthesized, even though they seem to be interwoven in many aspects. This dissertation has attempted to draw together the various fields, using methodology from communication and linguistics with literature from diverse areas of sociology,

psychology, listening, and of course, from criminology and victimology. Since the study was exploratory in nature, there were several limitations.

Limitations to the the Present Study

Several factors have limited the elegance and scope of this study. Some skeptics may suggest that a significant limitation is that a rape report is just that--a report about an alleged incident written from the perspective of an individual that was not present during the actual event. The only two people who may be able to write an accurate account of the incident are the alleged offender and the alleged victim. However, their written accounts may read very differently also. The rationale for using the text of police reports of rape was that the rape report, as written from the officer's perspective, is the only written representation of the criminal incident that is later read and re-read by the State Attorney's Office, other legal personnel, and even by a jury.

Thus, in the researcher's opinion the use of police reports was not a limitation. A limitation to the study was the selected sample. One city's Police Department in Gainesville, Florida was chosen for the study. Only using the rape reports from one police department limits the generalizability of the results across different police departments.

A second limitation was the inability for the study to assess interracial or intraracial attitudes of the police officers. Since only a few of the reporting officers were black, there was not a sufficient sample of black officers to compare against white officers as they interact with both white and black rape victims.

The third limitation was that the writing nor reading skills and levels of the reporting officers were assessed. It may be assumed that some officers may have written on a more sophisticated or descriptive level than other officers.

The fourth limitation, although perhaps only noted while reading the chapters on methodology and results, was the quantity of words needed to explain the percentages calculated for the loaded words and loaded topics in order to obtain and report the statistical results (i.e., positive loaded topics/total loaded words, negative loaded topics/total loaded words). A replication of this study including other police departments, although not entirely difficult, may require an investment of time and attention to detail.

These limitations, in conjunction with some of the contradictory results found in this study, contribute to the direction of future research.

Suggestions for Future Research

Several factors have limited previous research and this study regarding the interaction between police officers and

rape victims, and in particular the police officers' attitudes as they are expressed through the language chosen in their police reports. The following eight suggestions are made based on these limitations and the results revealed in this exploratory study.

1. Further research should be conducted regarding the perceptions and attitudes of female police officers.

Although this study incorporated the reports written by experienced female detectives, it would be interesting to compare the reports written by female officers based on age, race, experience level, and female officers from differing police departments.

2. An evaluation should be conducted regarding the race of the police officer and the race of the victim. It would not only reveal more recent race related research concerning police officers and rape victims, but a very timely study in reference to the racial problems and public perception of police stemming from the behaviors of the Los Angeles Police Department.

3. Bell (1992) evaluated believability themes in police reports of rape based on the age of the victim. Research should continue investigating the interaction between law enforcement and victims of differing ages. The age of the police officer may also be an interesting variable to explore.

4. A research study, that perhaps should be considered next, is to compare the police reports of differing police departments. Just here in Gainesville, Florida, it would be interesting to compare the Gainesville Police Department's rape reports to those of the Alachua County Sheriff's Department, the other local law enforcement agency. Other comparisons could be conducted across a larger geographic scope, including rape reports from major cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

5. A very powerful study to be considered would be to analyze the language contained in tried and "won" cases of rape versus cases that never make it to trial versus cases that are considered to be unfounded. Although this would be a difficult sample to attain, as well as the limitation that no one can be sure, except may be the victim, that the case is unfounded, it would be useful and practical research from both legal and social standpoints.

6. An immediate follow-up study that could be conducted is to interview the officers and detectives who actually wrote the reports. Obtain their actual opinion regarding the victim, the circumstances, the validity of the testimony, and the potential for their case to go to trial. A separate content analysis of their responses could be evaluated. A study focusing on case studies could also be conducted in which the researcher becomes a participant-observer and accompanies the victim and police through an entire rape

case. A chronology and step-by-step analysis of the communication dynamics between all participants would be interesting and informative.

7. In addition to interviewing police officers, interviews with rape victims would provide a balanced foundation for the continued analysis of the use loaded words and loaded topics in police reports. For example, from the results of this study, it was revealed that police place emphasis on the interaction between themselves and the victim and on the interaction between the victim and the assailant. But what do the rape victims consider to be the most crucial or the most important interaction or loaded topic? How do they perceive the use of loaded words as they depicted their emotions in the police reports? A similar set of analyses and interviews could eventually progress to inquire what juries perceive to be persuasive.

8. The most important suggestion for future studies, in the opinion of the researcher, is to conduct more research regarding the police experience and to work on presenting that information to the public, to victim advocates, to crime awareness programs, and especially to young people in elementary, middle, and high schools. Overall, law enforcement is not revered as a very positive force in our society. Police have been represented as cold, non-empathic individuals who only want to write traffic tickets to fulfill their so-called quotas. But, unknown to many in the general

public, the police task is a very difficult one. This very difficult and dangerous profession could also benefit from research. Insights into the police experience could enhance police training classes and academy programs. Thus, the benefits of expanded research in the area of rape victim and police interaction can be found by police officers, rape victims' advocates, and the public alike.

Police Training

Based on the results of this study alone, there is a need to standardize the language used in the police reports of rape, at least to some extent. The two suggestions would be to standardize the referral term of the victim. As stated earlier, the officers use a wide variety of terms for the victim. It was even noted in one police report that an inexperienced officer referred to the victim consistently as "the complaintant." Along the same lines a standard term should be used for the suspect; either "suspect," "offender," or "alleged assailant."

The other suggestion would be to provide a comprehensive list of anatomical terms to be used as the officers describe the physical aspects of the incident. As a separate observation, it was noticed that the experienced officer and detective reports used clinical terminology to depict the sexual accounts. Some reports, which undermined the professionalism of the report, incorporated slang terms to

refer to the parts of the human anatomy as well as various sexual behaviors.

Results from this study do not advocate the need to train officers on building empathic communication skills or more sensitive interviewing techniques. The information presented in the police reports as they reflected the interactions of participants through the analysis of loaded topics, demonstrate that the crucial information needed to either dismiss a case or pursue it to trial is present in the reports. The primary job and responsibility of police officers, to gather information and evidence, is evident in the text of these police report narratives.

Rape Victim Advocates

Rape victim advocates, as well as other counselors, would benefit from the results obtained from this study. It would be important for those who comfort and provide assistance and information to victims of rape, to have the information regarding the police perspective. Knowing that police will probably focus on the interaction between themselves and the victim, is perhaps something the advocate should make known to the victim. Knowing that information regarding the interaction between the victim and offender is depicted with more emotive detail by experienced officers, the advocates should learn who the experienced officers are. Not that inexperienced officers should not be perceived as competent, or be told how to do their job, but they may need

to be provided with not only the same details, but to make sure that they have recorded the precise language used by the victim.

The rape victim advocates can be a great source of information to a rape victim and by understanding the police perspective and police attitudes, they can better inform and comfort victims of rape.

The General Public

Most individuals, the researcher assumes, have no idea what happens to an individual after he/she has been raped and then decides to report the incident to the police. Most individuals, it is assumed, have no idea why the police must ask the personal, probing questions they have been labelled as "perverts" for asking. Most individuals and the majority of rape victims who have presented their opinion in literature, assume that the police officer who arrives on the scene should "hold their hand." Stenross and Kleinman (1989) have stated that police resent the notion that people expect them to play therapist. Police officers are not trained to be counselors, they are trained to be investigators.

The general public needs to become more aware of the overall police task, as well as, what they should expect if they are ever raped and in a position of providing a police officer with very personal detailed information. The awareness of the general public also has to be alerted to the incidences of fabricated rape, that are not publicized, and

how those cases affect a police officer when being dispatched to a rape call.

Conclusions

Rape is a tremendously violent crime, stripping the victim of her physical and emotional well-being. In addition to the trauma experienced by the rape itself, if the victim decides to report the crime, she must retell and relive the story many times over. There is an extensive history of cases in which the victim has been re-victimized or disbelieved. This is not to blame the police officers and the police departments as much literature has placed the blame on their insensitivity. One cannot ignore that the police play a major, if not a primary, role in the development of a rape case; but there are many other catalysts in the legal process.

The fact that research and police officers themselves have provided little or no explanation for their attitudes and communication techniques when interacting with rape victims, suggested exploration. This study has provided researchers and individuals one step closer to gaining an understanding of police attitudes from their perspective as they expressed their perceptions of rape victims and incidents of rape through the language of their police reports.

The residents of Gainesville, Florida should become aware of the non-biased, non-racial attitudes of the sex

crime investigators of their Gainesville Police Department. The following quote was obtained from a victim of rape, who was interviewed by two members of the Gainesville Police Department after she reported the incident. The victim would like to remain anonymous, but openly stated:

"The officers were kind, professional, and asked what they had to. I was date raped. They believed me. And they are now helping to bring my assailant to justice."

APPENDIX A
ALPHABETIZED LIST OF WORDS

a_____	advocacy_____
able_____	advocate_____
about_____	advocates_____
above_____	affidavit_____
abusive_____	after_____
accepted_____	afterwards_____
accompanied_____	again_____
according_____	against_____
account_____	age_____
across_____	agreed_____
active_____	agreement_____
addition_____	alachuacounty_____
admits_____	alachuageneral_____
admitted_____	all_____
adult_____	alleged_____
advised_____	allegedly_____
advising_____	along_____

APPENDIX B
EVALUATING THE VALENCE IN CONTEXT

at approximately eighthundred hours i spoke with victim [+ - 0] she stated that earlier today white male offender [+ - 0] came by and picked [+ - 0] her up [+ - 0] to go partying [+ - 0] he then drove her to his apartment once inside there was a conversation about intercourse [+ - 0] and they got into some heavy [+ - 0] petting [+ - 0] they were still fully clothed when suspect [+ - 0] reached into her pocket and removed [+ - 0] thirty dollars he then struck [+ - 0] her in the back [+ - 0] and said something like let us fuck [+ - 0] she then consented [+ - 0] to sex [+ - 0] with him in hopes [+ - 0] he would return her thirty dollars after intercourse [+ - 0] she got upset [+ - 0] when he said he would not [+ - 0] give [+ - 0] her money back [+ - 0] i then took her to alachuageneral for an exam [+ - 0] she became belligerent [+ - 0] to the doctor and said this is fucking [+ - 0] bullshit [+ - 0] she told me she wanted [+ - 0] to forget [+ - 0] the whole thing she said i am not having any tests [+ - 0] i asked her if she wanted [+ - 0] to press [+ - 0] charges [+ - 0] of rape [+ - 0] she told me no [+ - 0] and that she voluntarily [+ - 0] had sexual [+ - 0] intercourse [+ - 0] with him.

APPENDIX C
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE LOADED WORDS IN CONTEXT

at approximately eighthundred hours i spoke with victim [-]
she stated that earlier today white male offender [-] came by
and picked [-] her up to go partying [+] he then drove her to
his apartment once inside there was a conversation about
intercourse [+] and they got into some heavy [+] petting [+]
they were still fully clothed when suspect [-] reached into
her pocket and removed [-] thirty dollars he then struck [-]
her in the back and said something like let us fuck [-] she
then consented [+] to sex [+] with him in hopes [+] he would
return her thirty dollars after intercourse [+] she got upset
[-] when he said he would not [-] give [+] her money back i
then took her to alachuageneral for an exam she became
beligerent [-] to the doctor and said this is fucking [-]
bullshit [-] she told me she wanted [+] to forget [-] the
whole thing she said i am not having any tests i asked her if
she wanted [+] to press [-] charges [-] of rape [-] she told
me no [-] and that she voluntarily [+] had sexual [+]
intercourse [+] with him.

APPENDIX D
LOADED WORDS: CODING FOR LOADED TOPICS

at approximately eighthundred hours i spoke with victim [____]
] she stated that earlier today white male offender [____]
came by and picked [____] her up to go partying [____] he
then drove her to his apartment once inside there was a
conversation about intercourse [____] and they got into some
heavy [____] petting [____] they were still fully clothed
when suspect [____] reached into her pocket and removed [____]
] thirty dollars he then struck [____] her in the back and
said something like let us fuck [____] she then consented [____]
] to sex [____] with him in hopes [____] he would return
her thirty dollars after intercourse [____] she got upset [____]
] when he said he would not [____] give [____] her money
back i then took her to alachuageneral for an exam she became
beligerent [____] to the doctor and said this is fucking [____]
] bullshit [____] she told me she wanted [____] to forget [____]
] the whole thing she said i am not having any tests i asked
her if she wanted [____] to press [____] charges [____] of
rape [____] she told me no [____] and that she voluntarily
[____] had sexual [____] intercourse [____] with him.

APPENDIX E
LOADED WORDS AND LOADED TOPICS IN CONTEXT

at approximately eighthundred hours i spoke with victim [-]
][PV] she stated that earlier today white male offender [-]
][VO] came by and picked [-][VO] her up to go partying
[+][VO] he then drove her to his apartment once inside there
was a conversation about intercourse [+][VO] and they got
into some heavy [+][VO] petting [+][VO] they were still fully
clothed when suspect [-][VO] reached into her pocket and
removed [-][VO] thirty dollars he then struck [-][VO] her in
the back and said something like let us fuck [-][VO] she then
consented [+][VO] to sex [+][VO] with him in hopes [+][VO] he
would return her thirty dollars after intercourse [+][VO] she
got upset [-][VO] when he said he would not [-][VO] give
[+][VO] her money back i then took her to alachuageneral for
an exam she became belligerent [-][VM] to the doctor and said
this is fucking [-][VM] bullshit [-][VM] she told me she
wanted [+][PV] to forget [-][PV] the whole thing she said i
am not having any tests i asked her if she wanted [+][PV] to
press [-][PV] charges [-][PV] of rape [-][PV] she told me no
[-][PV] and that she voluntarily [+][VO] had sexual [+][VO]
intercourse [+][VO] with him.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

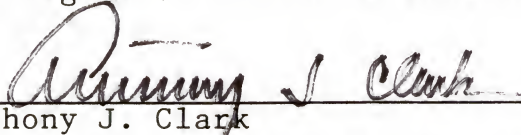
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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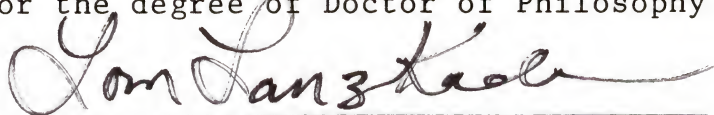
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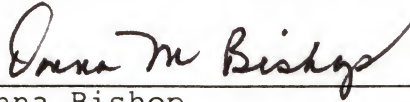
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Communication Processes and Disorders in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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